Serfojee Rajah 1829

TRANSACTIONS

OF THE

ROYAL ASIATIC S ETY

GREAT BRITAIN AND IRE

TRANSACTIONS

OF THE

ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY

OF

GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND.

VOL. I.

LONDON:
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1827.

ADVERTISEMENT.

The Council of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland takes this opportunity of informing the Members of the Society and the Public, that in selecting, from the communications read at the General Meetings, papers for publication in the Society's Transactions, it is guided by the importance or singularity of the subjects treated on, or by the advantageous manner of treating them; but that it does not guarantee the certainty of the facts or the propriety of the reasonings contained in the papers so published, which must still rest on the credit or judgment of their respective authors.

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Copy of an Inscription in the Cufic Character found in Ceylon. A Transcript of this Inscription in modern Arabic, and a Translation by the Rev. Professor Lee, are given, p. 545-548.

CORRECTIONS AND ADDITIONS.

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22, line 14, *insert* a comma *after* Yóga-'sástra.
23, line 29, *after* preceptor, *add* of GOVINDA, who was preceptor.
46, line 13, *for* Keen, *read* Héen.
48, line 18, *read* TAOU-KWANGS 2d year, &c.
55, line 18, for *Fingbara*, read *Ferghana*.
65, note †, for *Chetriyas*, read *Cshatriyas*.
76, line 34, *after* son, *add* of.
95, line 28, *for* eternal, *read* internal.
133, line 27, *after* worthy, *add* of notice.
137, line 19, *after* capital, *add* was.
146, line 33, *dele the* comma *after* supernatural.
155, line 27, *dele* and.
201, line 23, *dele* (JAYACHAND).
207, line 2, *add* on, *after* and.
212, line 28, *before* some *add* were.
235, line 23, for *Mágha sudi* (light half, read *Mágha badi* (dark half.)
236, note 14, *substitute a* comma *for the* period *after* districts.
258, line 13, *after* Embassy, *add* was to this Emperor.
265, line 12, *dele* the.
295, line 20, *after* difficult, *add* to cure.
301, note §, *after* see, *add* that.
305, line 19, *substitute a* comma *for the* period.
313, line 13, *cancel the* comma *after* Nakschi.
315, note †, *for* Barooch, *read* Baroach.
316, note *, *for* Barooch, *read* Baroach.
317, line 6, *instead of* from, *read* for.
317, line 18, *for* that word is, *read* a word.
317, note **, *for* Silisi, *read* Siliti.
320, note †, *for* author, *read* compilers.
322, line 3, *for* Vallus, *read* Valens.
322, line 26, *for* Segestes, *read* Sigertis, *in this and every other place where it occurs.*
327, line 25, *for* lived, *read* live.
330, line 22, *after* no information, *add* from them.
332, note *, *after* Plate, *add* XII.
333, line 22, *for* Sigestides, *read* Sigertides.
333, note †, *after* the father of, *add* or.
334, line 6, *for* Lankra, *read* Sankra.

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335, line 1, *for* Chishna, *read* Crishna.
335, note †, *for* Lymurita, *read* Lymurica.
336, line 26, a comma *to be placed after* Sun.
336, line 27, a period *to be placed after* doubt.
336, note ‡, *for* Tad-tar, *read* Tadmor.
338, line 3, *for* Agizzi, *read* Azizzi.
338, note ‡, *after* Plate, *add* XII.
339, line 13, *for* supposed, *read* regretted.
341, line 18, *for* it was, *read* others were.
341, note †, *for* Bhalla, *read* Bhala.
Ditto, — *for* Renandot, *read* Renaudot, *in both instances.*
405, line 9, *for* Foo-chow, *read* Foo, Chow.
414, line 26, *after* trade, *add* and.
415, note, *for* represented, *read* used.
421, line 6, *after* asses, *add* or.
437, line 24, *after* exchanged, *add* of passing.
507, line 11, *read* and aspirations, *instead of* and for aspirations.
531, note *for* 142, *read* 412.
545, line 7 of the Inscription, *for* كُ *read* كَ
545, line 13 of ditto, *for* يتّم *read* يتّم
547, note *, *for* بُرّ *read* بَرّ.
548, line 7, *for* آمِينَ كَئِينِ وَرِجْز *read* آمِينَ كَئِينِ وَرِجْز
548, line 12, *for* رَوَاحْ *read* رَوَاحْ
548, line 13, *for* رِجَّة, *read* رِجَّة
548, line 14, *for* رِجْز *read* رِجْز

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OF

GREAT BRITAIN AND IRE[illegible]ND.

VOL. I.

PART I.

LONDON:

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GREAT QUEEN STREET, LINCOLN'[illegible]

1824.

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REPORT

OF THE

PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

ASIATIC SOCIETY

OF

GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND,

AT ITS

FIRST GENERAL MEETING,

ON

THE 15TH OF MARCH, 1823,

THE first *General Meeting* of the Asiatic
original Prospectus, been fixed for the 15t
mittee appointed for making the necessa
measures to carry that intention into effec
of a meeting of Original Members, a *Circu*
by which the General Meeting was conven
municated to the Members the business i
on this day, would be engaged, being
Council, and Officers, for the future adn

of the Society. Some other points likewise, that were to be brought before the meeting, were noticed in the circular letter, in order to put the Members distinctly in possession of all the topics, that were to come under their consideration.

The Meeting, accordingly, took place, at the Thatched House, St. James's Street.

Henry Thomas Colebrooke, Esq., was called to the Chair.

With a view to the ballot, Henry St. George Tucker, Esq., and W. H. Trant, Esq., were nominated Scrutineers.

Before the ballot commenced, the Chairman desired leave to address the Meeting: he delivered a discourse, in which he developed the views of the Society, and the purposes for which it was instituted. This discourse having been received with marked approbation, by the Meeting, it was moved that it should be printed; a[illegible]wise, that the thanks of the Meeting should be give[illegible]n: which propositions, being respectively [illegible]d unanimously by the Meeting.

[illegible]ceeded to announce to the Meeting, that [illegible] George the Fourth, had been graciously [illegible]elf Patron of the Asiatic Society;

[illegible] Most Noble the *Marquis Wellesley*, and [illegible]*arquis of Hastings* were nominated Vice-[illegible]

[illegible] the *President of the Board of Commissioners* [illegible]*dia, for the time being*, would always be a [illegible]

[illegible]olutions were next proposed by the [illegible] by the Meeting:

I.—That the Society be called, *The Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland.**

II.—That the designation of the Members of the Society be *M.A.S.*† *Member of the Asiatic Society.*

III.—That the Meeting do empower the Council, as soon as it shall have been elected, to frame Regulations, by which, when sanctioned by the Society, at its General Meetings, the Society is in future to be governed.‡

IV.—That the Council be authorized to take such steps, or make such arrangements, as they may deem advisable, to provide a suitable place for the Society's meetings.§

V. — That the Council be authorized to take such steps as may be requisite, to obtain a Charter of Incorporation, as early as they may find it expedient and [illegible]cable.‖

VI.—That the next General Meeting b[illegible]rday, the 19th of April, at 3 o'clock in [illegible]

The Chairman congratulated the Me[illegible] aspect which the Society bore, stating, [illegible] Members already entered on its list, excee[illegible]

---

* His Majesty having been pleased, subsequently, to g[illegible] *Royal*, its present denomination is, *The Royal Asiatic Society o*[illegible] distinction was announced to the Society, by its President, th[illegible] Williams Wynn, at the General Meeting, June 7, 1823, as app[illegible]

† The designation now is M.R.A.S. *Member of the Royal Asia*[illegible]

‡ The Regulations have, accordingly, been framed. They w[illegible] at the General Meeting, April 19, 1823. They were afterwar[illegible] the Members.

§ The Council has succeeded in obtaining the lease of [illegible] Grafton Street, Bond Street, which was taken possession of [illegible] 15th of January, 1824; and the Society met there, for the f[illegible]

‖ The Charter, by which the Society now is incorporated [illegible]

The Chairman having concluded, the ballot opened, and was carried on till four o'clock, as had been previously fixed, when, being closed, the lists were examined by the Scrutineers. It was then declared from the Chair, that the following Twenty-five Members had been elected to form the Council, *viz.*

HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF SOMERSET,
HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM,
THE MOST NOBLE THE MARQUIS OF LANSDOWNE,
THE RIGHT HONOURABLE THE EARL OF ABERDEEN,
THE RIGHT HON. CHARLES W. WILLIAMS WYNN,
THE RIGHT HON. SIR GORE OUSELEY, BART.
THE RIGHT HONOURABLE JOHN SULLIVAN,
SIR GEORGE THOMAS STAUNTON, BART.
SIR EDWARD HYDE EAST, BART.
SIR JOHN MALCOLM, G.C.B.
SIR ALEXANDER JO[illegible]TON, KNT.
SIR JAMES MAC[illegible] KNT.
JAMES A[illegible]

JOHN BARROW, ESQ.
HENRY THOMAS COLEBROOKE, ESQ.
COLONEL F. H. DOYLE,
LIEUTENANT COLONEL C. J. DOYLE,
NEIL BENJAMIN EDMONSTONE, ESQ.
JOHN FLEMING, ESQ.
CAPTAIN HENRY KATER,
ANDREW MACKLEW, ESQ.
WILLIAM MARSDEN, ESQ.
G. H. NOEHDEN, LL.D.
COLONEL MARK WILKS,
CHARLES WILKINS, ESQ.

[illegible] number the following were chosen Officers

President.

[illegible]GHT HON. CHARLES WATKIN WILLIAMS WYNN.

[illegible] ESQ.

[illegible] BART.

[illegible]NT.

Treasurer.

JAMES ALEXANDER, ESQ.

Secretary.

GEORGE HENRY NOEHDEN, LL.D.

G. H. NOEHDEN,
Secretary.

CHARTER

OF

INCORPORATION

OF THE

ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY

OF

GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND.

George the Fourth, by the Grace of God of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland King, Defender of the Faith: To all to whom these Presents shall come Gree[ting]

Whereas our Right Trusty and We[ll-beloved] *Charles Watkin Williams Wynn*, and o[thers] subjects, have under our Royal Patrona[ge] into a Society for the investigation o[f] with, and for the encouragement of S[cience] the Arts, in relation to Asia, called "[*The Royal Asiatic So-*] *ciety of Great Britain and Ireland;*" an[d] sought to grant to them, and to those who s[hall] members of the same Society, our R[oyal] corporation, for the purposes aforesaid; we being desirous of encouraging a[...] salutary, have of our especial grace, cert[ain]

motion, willed, granted, and declared; and we do by these presents, for us, our heirs, and successors, will, grant, and declare, that our said Right Trusty and Well-beloved Councillor, Charles Watkin Williams Wynn, and such others of our loving subjects, as have formed themselves into, and are now members of the said Society, and all such other persons as shall hereafter become members of the said Society, according to such regulations or bye-laws, as shall be hereafter formed or enacted, shall, by virtue of these presents, be the members of, and form one body politic and corporate, by the name of "*The Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland;*" by which name they shall have perpetual succession, and a common seal, with full power and authority to alter, vary, break, and renew the same, at their discretion; and by the same name to sue and be sued, implead and be impleaded, and answer and be answered unto, in every court [illegible] heirs, and successors; and be for ever able and [illegible] purchase, receive, possess, and enjoy, to [illegible] sors, any goods and chattels whatsoever: [illegible] d capable in the law (notwithstanding the [illegible] o take, purchase, possess, hold, and enjoy, [illegible] cessors, a Hall or College, and any mes- [illegible] s, or hereditaments whatsoever, the yearly [illegible] ing the site of the said Hall or College, [illegible] whole the sum of one thousand pounds, [illegible] respectively at the rack rent which might [illegible] n for the same respectively, at the time of [illegible] tion thereof; and to act in all the concerns [illegible] nd corporate for the purposes aforesaid, [illegible] all intents, effects, constructions, and

purposes whatsoever, as any other of our liege subjects, or any other body politic and corporate, in our United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, not being under any disability, might do in their respective concerns. And we do hereby grant our especial licence and authority unto all and every person and persons, bodies politic and corporate (otherwise competent), to grant, sell, alien, and convey in mortmain unto, and to the use of the said Society, and their successors, any messuages, lands, tenements, or hereditaments, not exceeding such value as aforesaid. And our will and pleasure is, that our first Commissioner, for the time being, for the Affairs of India, shall be a Vice-Patron of the said body politic and corporate. And we further will, grant, and declare, that there shall be a general meeting of the members of the said body politic and corporate, to be held, from time to time, as hereinafter is mentioned; and that there shall always be a council to direct and manage the concerns of the said b... ...tic and corporate, and that the general meetings and t... ...have the entire direction and management of the... ..., and subject to the regulations, hereinafter r...
will and pleasure is, that at all general m...
of the council, the majority of the members...
right to vote thereat respectively, shall de...
propounded at such meetings, the person pre...
in case of an equality of numbers, a second c...
we do hereby also will, grant, and declare, t...
consist of a President, and not more than...
than five other members, to be elected out...
said body politic and corporate; and that...
council, exclusive of the President, shall...

calendar months after the date of this our Charter, and that the said Charles Watkin Williams Wynn shall be the first President of the said body politic and corporate. And we do hereby further will, grant, and declare, that it shall be lawful for the members of the said body politic and corporate, hereby established, to hold general meetings once in the year, or oftener, for the purposes hereinafter mentioned, (that is to say): That the general meetings shall choose the President and other members of the council; that the general meetings shall make and establish such bye-laws, as they shall deem to be useful and necessary for the regulation of the said body politic and corporate, for the election and admission of members, for the management of the estates, goods, and business of the said body politic and corporate, and for fixing and determining the manner of electing the President and other members of the council; as also, of electing and appointing such officer[illegible] ...nts, and servants, as shall be deemed necessary, or [illegible] ...d body politic and corporate; and such bye-l[illegible] ...e shall, or may, alter, vary, or revoke, and [illegible] such new and other bye-laws, as they shall [illegible] expedient, so that the same be not repug- [illegible] ...ts, or to the laws and statutes of this our [illegible] ...ay also enter into any resolution, and make [illegible] ...ing any of the affairs and concerns of the [illegible] corporate, that shall be thought necessary [illegible] ...ve further will, grant, and declare, that the [illegible] sole management of the income and funds [illegible] ...ic and corporate, and also the entire ma- [illegible] ...endence of all the other affairs and con- [illegible] ...l, or may, but not inconsistently with, or

contrary to the provisions of this our Charter, or any existing bye-law, or the laws and statutes of this our Realm, do all such acts and deeds as shall appear to them necessary or essential to be done, for the purpose of carrying into effect the objects and views of the said body politic and corporate. And we further will, grant, and declare, that the whole property of the said body politic and corporate, shall be vested, and we do hereby vest the same, solely and absolutely in the members thereof, and that they shall have full power and authority to sell, alienate, charge, or otherwise dispose of the same, as they shall think proper; but that no sale, mortgage, incumbrance, or other disposition of any messuages, lands, tenements, or hereditaments, belonging to the said body politic and corporate, shall be made, except with the approbation and concurrence of a general meeting. And we lastly declare it to be our Royal will and pleasure, that no resolution, or bye-law, shall on any account or preten[illegible] ever be made by the said body politic and corporat[illegible] the general scope, true intent, and meaning of [illegible] or the laws or statutes of our Realm; and th[illegible] bye-law shall be made, the same shall b[illegible] void, to all intents, effects, constructions, [illegible] ever. In witness whereof we have caused [illegible] be made Patent. Witness ourself at our Pa[illegible] this eleventh day of August, in the fifth year [illegible]

By Writ of Privy Seal.

A DISCOURSE

READ AT A MEETING

OF THE

ASIATIC SOCIETY

OF

GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND,

ON THE 15th OF MARCH, 1823,

BY

H. T. COLEBROOKE, Esq.

Called by the indulgence of this meeting to ... I could have wished to have seen more wor... interesting an occasion, as the first genera... instituted for the important purpose of *the* ... *ledge in relation to Asia,* I shall, with you... you a little from the special business of th... your more particular attention to the object... for the furtherance of which we are now assem...

To those countries of Asia, in which civili... considered to have had its origin, or to ha... growth, th[e] rest of the civilized world ow... tude, whic[h] it cannot but be solicitous to ... most adva[n]ced in refinement, is, for tha...

beholden; and, by acquisition of dominion in the East, is bound by a yet closer tie. As Englishmen, we participate in the earnest wish, that this duty may be fulfilled, and that obligation requited; and we share in the anxious desire of contributing to such a happy result, by promoting an interchange of benefits, and returning in an improved state that which was received in a ruder form.

But improvement, to be efficient, must be adapted to the actual condition of things: and hence a necessity for exact information of all that is there known, which belongs to science; and all that is there practised, which appertains to arts.

Be it then our part to investigate the sciences of Asia; and inquire into the arts of the East; with the hope of facilitating ameliorations, of which they may be found susceptible.

In progress of such researches, it is not perhaps too much to expect, that something may yet be gleaned for the advancement of knowledge, and improvement of arts, at home. In many recent instances, inventive faculties have been tasked to devise anew, what might have been as readily copied from an Oriental type; or unac ged imitation has reproduced in Europe, with an air of hat had been for ages familiar in the East. Nor is t considered as already exhausted. In beauty o plicity of process, there possibly yet remains nt from China, from Japan, from India; Europe need not disdain.

of the arts in Asia is simplicity. With rude coarse means, arduous tasks have been t finished results have been obtained; which, ere scarcely equalled, and have, but recently, polished artifice and refined skill in Europe. f mere curiosity, it might yet be worth the e rude means by which such things have he question, however, is not a merely idle gated with confidence, that an useful an- If it do not point to the way of perfecting

European skill, it assuredly will to that of augmenting Asiatic attainments.

The course of inquiry into the arts, as into the sciences, of Asia, cannot fail of leading to much which is curious, and instructive. The inquiry extends over regions, the most anciently and the most numerously peopled on the globe. The range of research is as wide, as those regions are vast; and as various, as the people who inhabit them are diversified. It embraces their ancient and modern history; their civil polity; their long-enduring institutions; their manners, and their customs; their languages, and their literature; their sciences, speculative and practical: in short, the progress of knowledge among them; the pitch which it has attained; and last, but most important, the means of its extension.

In speaking of the history of Asiatic nations (and it is in Asia, that recorded and authentic history of mankind commences), I do not refer merely to the succession of political struggles, national conflicts, and warlike achievements; but rather to less conspicuous, yet more important, occurrences, [illegible] directly concern the structure of society; the civil institu[illegible] ions; their internal, more than their external, relation[illegible] s prominent, but more momentous, events, whi[illegible] universally, and advance it in the scale of civil[illegible]

It is the history of the human mind, which i[illegible] to be investigated: the discoveries of the wise; [illegible] the ingenious; and the contrivances of the ski[illegible]

Nothing, which has much engaged the [illegible] foreign to our inquiry, within the local lim[illegible] prescribed to it. We do not exclude from our [illegible] transactions of Asiatic states, nor the lu[illegible] philosophers. The first are necessarily co[illegible] degree, wi[illegible] the history of the progress [illegible] have great influence on the literary, th[illegible] practical, avocations of men.

Nor is the ascertainment of any fact to be considered destitute of use. The aberrations of the human mind are a part of its history. It is neither uninteresting, nor useless, to ascertain what it is that ingenious men have done, and contemplative minds have thought, in former times; even where they have erred: especially, where their error has been graced by elegance, or redeemed by tasteful fancy.

Mythology then, however futile, must, for those reasons, be noticed. It influences the manners, it pervades the literature, of nations which have admitted it.

Philosophy of ancient times must be studied; though it be the edifice of large inference, raised on the scanty ground of assumed premises. Such as it is, most assiduously has it been cultivated by Oriental nations, from the further India to Asiatic Greece. The more it is investigated, the more intimate will the relation be found between the philosophy of Greece, and that of India. Whichever is the type, or the copy, whichever has borrowed, or has lent, certain it is, that the one will serve to elucidate the other. The philosop[illegible] ıdia may be employed for a commentary on that of Gree[illegible] ıversely Grecian philosophy will help to explain I[illegible] Arabia too, avowedly copied from the Grecian r[illegible] rved much which else might have been lost. A [illegible] tored through the medium of translation; and [illegible] retrieved from Arabic stores.

[illegible] nguage of India, the polished Sanscrit, not [illegible] nd various other languages of Europe, may yet [illegible] to their elucidation; and still more to the not [illegible] of general grammar.

[illegible] e be wanting in the literary performances of [illegible] that sole ground, to be utterly neglected. [illegible] ng, may yet be elicited from Arabic and [illegible] ian and Indian antiquities.

[illegible] ighly polished and refined la[illegible]guages are [illegible] y deserve to be studied for the [illegible]ake of the

particular dialects and idioms, to which they bear relation; for their own sake, that is, for the literature which appertains to them; and for the analysis of language in general, which has been unsuccessfully attempted on too narrow ground, but may be prosecuted, with effect, upon wider induction.

The same is to be said of Chinese literature and language. This field of research, which is now open to us, may be cultivated with confident reliance on a successful result; making us better acquainted with a singular people, whose manners, institutions, opinions, arts and productions, differ most widely from those of the West; and through them, perhaps, with other tribes of Tartaric race, still more singular, and still less known.

Wide as is the geographical extent of the region, to which primarily our attention is directed, and from which our association has taken its designation, the range of our research is not confined to those geographical limits. Western Asia has, in all times, maintained intimate relation with contiguous, and not unfrequently, with distant, countries: and that connexion will justify, and often render necessary, excursive disquisition beyond its bounds. We may lay claim to many Grecian topics, as bearing [illegible] to Asiatic Greece; to numerous topics of yet highe[illegible] nected with Syria, with Chaldæa, with Palestine. [illegible] ture will conduct us still further. Wherever it [illegible] footsteps of Moslem conquest, inquiry will pu[illegible] Attending the Arabs in Egypt, the Moors in Africa; [illegible] these into Spain, and cultivated there with ass[illegible] investigated without exclusion of countries, i[illegible] its way.

Neither are our researches limited to the [illegible] the history and pursuits of antient times. M[illegible] added to the known world a second Asi[illegible] British col[illegible]nies have annexed to the Britis[illegible] of Austral Asia connects it with the Indian [illegible] cupation by English colonies brings it in rel[illegible]

Of that new country, where every thing is strange, much is yet to be learnt. Its singular physical geography, its peculiar productions, the phænomena of its climate, present numerous subjects of inquiry: and various difficulties are to be overcome, in the solution of the problem of adapting the arts of Europe to the novel situation of that distant territory. The Asiatic Society of Great Britain will contribute its aid towards the accomplishment of those important objects.

Remote as are the regions to which our attention is turned, no country enjoys greater advantages than Great Britain, for conducting inquiries respecting them. Possessing a great Asiatic empire, its influence extends far beyond its direct and local authority. Both within its territorial limits and without them, the public functionaries have occasion for acquiring varied information, and correct knowledge of the people, and of the country. Political transactions, operations of war, relations of commerce, the pursuits of business, the enterprise of curiosity, the desire of scientific acquirements, carry British subjects to the most distant and the most secluded spots. Their duties, their professions, lead
ther[illegible]d; and they avail themselves of opportunity, thus af-
fo[illegible]uisition of accurate acquaintance with matters,
p[illegible]eir notice. One requisite is there wanting, as
[illegible]rked by the venerable founder of the Asiatic
[illegible]gal, it is leisure: but that is enjoyed, on their re-
[illegible]ative country. Here may be arranged the trea-
[illegible]which they bring with them; the written or the
[illegible]ation, which they have gathered. Here are
[illegible]nd private repositories, manuscript books,
[illegible]t; exempt from the prompt decay, which
[illegible]rtaken them. Here, too, are preserved, in
[illegible] the manuscript observations of individuals,
[illegible]vented them from giving to th[illegible] public the
[illegible]n a detached form.

An Association, established in Great Britain, with views analogous to those, for which the parent Society of Bengal was instituted, and which happily are adopted by Societies, which have arisen at other British stations in Asia, at Bombay, at Madras, at Bencoolen, will furnish inducement to those, who, during their sojourn abroad, have contributed their efforts for the promotion of knowledge, to continue their exertions after their return. It will serve to assemble scattered materials, which are now liable to be lost to the public, for want of a vehicle of publication. It will lead to a more diligent examination of the treasures of Oriental literature, preserved in public and private libraries. In cordial co-operation with the existing Societies in India, it will assist their labours, and will be assisted by them. It will tend to an object, first in importance: the increase of knowledge in Asia, by diffusion of European science. And whence can this be so effectually done, as from Great Britain?

For such purposes we are associated; and to such ends our efforts are directed. To further these objects, we are now assembled: and the measures, which will be proposed to you, Gentlemen, are designed for the commencement of a c
confidently trust, may, in its progress, be em
and largely contribute to the augmented enjo
numerable people, subject to British sway abro
humility and deference be it spoken, yet not with
after public usefulness,) conspicuously tend to Brit
as connected with Asia.

TRANSACTIONS

OF THE

ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

I. *Memoir concerning the Chinese.* *By* John Francis Davis, *Esq.*, *F.R.S.*, *M.R.A.S.*

Read May 17, 1823.

The Empire of China furnishes a subject of investigation, highly deserving the attention of the antiquarian and the philosopher; and one which, in proportion as it has been little attempted, affords the ampler field for research. It may in some measure be considered as a reproach to this country, that, notwithstanding our having a much greater interest in the subject, we should have permitted the learned of France and of Germany to anti... ...us on many points of inquiry: although the labours of the last ... more especially of the last ten, have gone far towards g... place in the ranks of Chinese literature; and much more n... from the future.

I shall endeavour, in this paper, to take a cursory v... connected with the *earlier* history of the Chinese, as may ... in order to obtain a correct idea of the antiquity of thei... advancement in knowledge, points on which the most ... notions have been prevalent; and the view ma... in shewing what parts of the subject stand in ... Great as is the antiquity of the Chinese, it ha... rated. The best-informed and most reflecting ... unprofitable fables, the earliest traditions of t...

* See, in Morrison's Chronology, p. 57, a quotation from *Cho*... is impossible to give entire credit to the traditions of these remot...

prodigies that are recorded, as well as the fanciful names that are given to their first emperors, carry with them the most unquestionable marks of fabrication. National va[illegible]ity and a love of the marvellous have influenced in a similar manner the [illegible]arly history of most other countries, and furnished materials for nursery tal[illegible]s, as soon as the spirit of sober investigation has supplanted that appetite for wonders, which marks the infancy of nations, as well as of individuals. The person called *Fo-hi*, and some of his immediate successors, appear to have been of the number of those gifted men, who rescued the human race from primeval barbarism, and whom their gratitude has invested with superhuman attributes. All institutions and inventions, of whose real origin no history remains,* have been referred to them as to a common source; but the grave appellation of *Emperor* is only applied by the ignorant and the unthinking, to savages who first taught their cotemporaries to make fishing nets, to till the ground, and live together in a state of society.†

In order to prove how little dependence can be placed on the accounts which the Chinese give of their own antiquity and inventions, I need only produce the following quotation from the abstract of history given by Du Halde. "*Chuen-hiö* regulated the calendar, and desired to begin the year the first day of the month in which the sun should be nearest the 15th [illegible] of Aquarius, for which he is called the author and father of the [illegible] chose the time when the sun passes through the middle of [illegible] *this season the earth is adorned with plants, trees renew* [illegible]*nd all nature seems re-animated.* This of course means the [illegible] Now *Chuen-hiö* is said to have lived more than two thousand [illegible]ist, and according to the usual mode of calculating the [illegible]quinoxes, the sun must have passed through the 15th of [illegible]e, somewhere about the *middle of December.*

[illegible]der might very well have been expected from a Chinese [illegible]de should have quoted it, without any comment,

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* [illegible]rogress of the arts and sciences, is an incongruous mass of [illegible]roduced as if by enchantment: and events succeed each [illegible] the greatest absurdity consists in attributing all inventions [illegible] have few opportunities of making discoveries."—*De Pauw,* [illegible]*yptians and Chinese.*

† [illegible]inese author, speaking of *Fo-hi*, "men differed but little from [illegible] but not their *father*."—*See Du Halde.*

is certainly extraordinary. I am inclined to think that the present rule for commencing the Chinese year, near the middle of Aquarius, has a reference to the position of the *Winter Solstitial Colure* at a remote period, though it would not be so far back as the reputed age of *Ch[illegible]n-hiŏ*, but short of it by about six hundred years. From the circumstance of the Winter Solstice being at present observed as a festival, there is a possibility that it was at first the period of their year's commencement; though I mention this merely as a conjecture.

The only direct and positive testimony that we seem to possess, *out* of China, relating to the first origin of the Chinese nation, exists in the Institutes of Menu: and I cannot help thinking that the observations of Sir W. Jones on the passage in question are deserving of great attention. It is there written, that "many families of the military class, having gradually abandoned the ordinances of the Veda, and the company of Brahmens, lived in a state of degradation, as the *Chinas* and some other nations." The great antiquity of the laws of Menu is in favour of the authenticity of the above testimony; for at the period at which Sir W. Jones supposes them to have been written (above one thousand years B.C.), there can be no doubt whatever but the Chinese [illegible]ion was yet in its infancy, and that it could lay no claim to the character of an extensive, united, and powerful empire, until many centuries after that date: as I shall attempt to shew. I content myself with noticing in this place the sta[illegible] f one of their own histories,* that twelve hundred years before Ch[illegible] [illegible]nese nation was small and feeble, the eastern foreigners (that [illegible] perhaps Tartars, between them and the east coast) num[illegible] and that the former "gradually obtained a residence i[illegible] country," namely, in *Honan*. It is universally admitte[illegible] that the seat of government was at first in *Shen-si*, th[illegible] the present empire, where the colonists, mentioned by [illegible] are supposed to have settled, and that they subse[illegible] against a state called *Yen*, in *Pĕ-chĕ-li*, and a[illegible] other [illegible] until they succeeded in fixing themselves in [illegible]

The opinion, hazarded by M. de Guignes, [illegible] from Egypt, seems hardly capable of being [illegible] Such a distant and extensive emigration coul[illegible]

* See Morrison's Chinese Chronolog[illegible]

the knowledge and notice of the nations inhabiting the vast countries that intervene; besides which, there exists no resemblance between the mysterious hieroglyphics of Egypt and the Chinese characters, which might, as Sir W. Jones observes, "have been contrived by the first *Chinas*, or outcast Hindus, who either never knew, or had forgotten, the alphabetic character of their wiser ancestors." Though M. de Pauw and other learned men have been of opinion that the Chinese were originally a tribe of Tartars, or Scythians, I cannot help thinking that there are some reasonable grounds for concluding that they were a colony from India, and that they owe their present distinctive character to their subsequent mixture with the aborigines of the country, and with the Tartars.

The *Empire* of China cannot be dated earlier than the dynasty called *Tsin*, about two hundred years before Christ; and the term *Wang*, or Prince, instead of *Hoang-ti*, or Emperor, is applied by their own historians to all the monarchs of the race of *Chow*, which immediately preceded it. From this race of *Chow* (B.C. 1100 to 240) we may date the *Authentic History* of the Chinese, which commences with the *Chun-tsew* of Confucius, the annals of his own times, in which he relates the wars of the different petty states against each other.* The northern half of modern China, from the great river Keang† to the confines of Tartary, appears then to have been divided by a number of petty independent states, which contended against ... er with various success, and as one obtained a temporary asce... the rest, it assumed the pretensions of a doubtful sove-r... acknowledged or denied, in proportion as adversity or ... ence the dispositions of its neighbours. The province ... upied by a nation or state called *Yen*, *Shan-tung* was ... of *Loo* and *Tsi*, *Keang-nan* by the sovereign of *Woo*; ... of the modern half of the empire to the south of ... with the province of *Sze-chuen*, was occupied by Bar-... n mentioned in the histories of that period, except ... ncursions, the chastisement of the more civilized

* ... o condemn all that precedes the time of *Chow*, as *absolutely* ... le, as not to deserve the name of history. They have no ... Confucius.

† ... *Keang*, "The River."

The period of *Chow*, from about the middle of which the era of authentic history may be dated, was distinguished by the birth of *Confucius*, and of *Laou-keun*, the founders of two of the sects of China; while *Fŏ*, or Buddha, the author of the third, was also born in India about the commencement of the same period, although his worship was not introduced into the empire until long after, in the first century of the Christian era. The memory and the doctrines of Confucius have met with almost uninterrupted veneration down to the present time; while the absurd superstitions of the other two have been alternately embraced and despised by the different sovereigns of the country. Under the present Tartar government, they can merely be said to be *tolerated*. In the instructions of the Emperor *Yung-ching* to the people, the tenets of *Fŏ* and of *Laou-keun* are stigmatized among the "impure doctrines" against which the nation is warned to guard itself with especial caution.

Leaving the religion of his countrymen as he found it, Confucius embodied in sententious maxims the first principles of morals and of government, and the purity and excellence of some of his precepts (whatever may have been said to the contrary by persons ignorant of the language) will bear a comparison with even those of the gospel. He, and he only, of the men who have at different times aspired to teach the Chinese, was truly deserving of the title of Philosopher; and he alone, during the revolutions of ages, has met with uniform veneration. Guided by the light of reas[illegible] applied the energies of a powerful intellect to the *Study of man*, a[illegible]nded his doctrines on the fixed and immutable principles of hum[illegible] works are at this day the Sacred Books of the Chinese, anc[illegible] with the evanescent relics of *Fŏ* and of *Laou-keun*, confir[illegible] of truth over the fictions of artful, and the ravings of[illegible] Thus it is that "opinionum delet dies, naturæ judicia co[illegible]

After the death of Confucius, who appears to have bee[illegible] sovereigns of nearly all the independent states of Chi[illegible] nary contests arose among them, which gave to th[illegible] name of *Chen-kwo*, or the "contending nations," an[illegible] ruin of the race of *Chow*. The king of *Tsin*, who h[illegible] very powerful at the expense of the neighbouring st[illegible] other nations, and after a course of successes, compel[illegible] ledge his supremacy (B.C. 200). The chief gover[illegible] assume the aspect of an *Empire*, which comp[illegible]

of the northern half of modern China; but which, after the lapse of not much more than four centuries, was doomed again to be divided into three or four parts.

Chi-hoang-ti, the *F rst Emperor*, as his name seems to import, had hardly established his uthority, when the Tartars, or barbarians of the north, began to make in ursions over the extensive frontiers. The Emperor succeeded in driving th m back into their desarts, and then employed the united resources of his ominions in the erection of the vast Wall, which has existed during a sp e of two thousand years, and remains to this day a stupendous, though ne ly useless, monument of the ambitious disposition of this prince.* As if dete mined, however, to have a counterpoise to the reputation which this great work entitled him to, or influenced by a spirit not unlike that by which Erostratus was inspired, when he burned the Ephesian temple, the same Emperor issued a general order that all the books of the learned should be cast into the flames. Though a great many, of course, escaped this sweeping sentence, his memory is execrated by the literati of China.

It is stated in the history of that period, that Japan was colonized from China during the same dynasty; and there appears to myself some grounds for giving credit to the record. The union of the different states under his single authority, and the magnificent turn of mind that prompted *Chi-hoang-ti* y into execution such a work as the Great Wall, were most likely t im to schemes of colonization, which are sometimes very logo e of conquest; and the extension of his new dominions to Eastern Sea was still farther calculated to suggest such ware that the Japanese have been asserted by some to islands as early as the 13th century before Christ, and e said to disdain the very idea of being descended from however, we remark the striking similarity that exists he manners, the dispositions, and the policy of the but recognize them to be of *one family;* and the fact g use of the Chinese written language, and reve-

reat all, which extends along a space of 1,500 miles, from the este Tartary, has been estimated by Mr. Barrow to exceed in Gr at Britain, and to be capable of surrounding the whole earth

rencing the books of Confucius, may fairly be considered as evidence that they carried them from China, at, or some time previous to, the period in question.* The earliest traditions of every country must be listened to with distrust, unless corroborated by circumstantial proof; and the most fastidious native of Japan need not be offended with the chronology that gives to his country an antiquity of more than two thousand years.

During the succeeding dynasties of *Han* (B.C. [illegible]0—A.D. 220), the first of which is called *Si*, or western, from holding its metropolis in *Shen-si*, while the latter bears the opposite name of *Tung*, or eastern, from its court having been removed to *Honan*, the empire [illegible]d several revolutions. The ambition of the rulers of the different states, as well as of the ministers of the Emperor, gave rise to various wars; and, in the last days of *Han*, so little was left of an empire, that the sovereigns of that period are called *Choo*, or Lord, instead of *Hoang-ti*. The Tartars, too, by their fugitive and predatory mode of warfare, were the cause of much trouble, and forced the Chinese to propitiate them with alliances and tribute. This impolitic system, which commenced so early, was in subsequent ages carried to a still greater height, and terminated, many centuries afterwards, in the overthrow of the empire, by the Mongol Tartars.†

The dynasty of *Han*, however, is a very celebrated period in Chinese history, and learning especially is said to be under great obligations to it. At the present day, the term for a Chinese, in contradistinction to a Tartar, is *Han-jin*, "a Man of Han." *Paper* and *ink*, instead of the awkward and cumbrous method of pricking characters on the bark of trees with a stil[illegible] are stated to have been invented during this dynasty, shortly previous [illegible] Christian era:‡ and it is probable that the rapid progress of Buddhis[illegible] religion of *Fŏ*, which was soon after introduced from India, was in [illegible] sure owing to those inventions. The leading tenets of this sect w[illegible] in the Chinese language, while the mere *sounds* of the char[illegible]

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* Allowing that this might have happened *before* the burning of [illegible] necessarily have been *after* the time of Confucius, B.C. 500.

† During the learned and polite, but unwarlike dynasty of [illegible] crushed by the Mongols, enormous supplies of money and s[illegible] wer[illegible] obtained by the Barbarians. This unwise submission had th[illegible] insolence, and hastening the ruin of the empire.

‡ The art of *printing* is not recorded to have arisen until [illegible] time of *Sung*.

as a system of syllabic spelling, to express the principal epithets or attributes of the Indian god, as well as the more mysterious, or unintelligible portions of his sacred books. These are now chaunted by the priests, or bonzes, without being understood, even by themselves; and may perhaps serve to excite the greater veneration for the object of their worship, on the principle of "omne ignotum pro magnifico." The appellation *o-mee-to*, which, during my travels with Lord Amherst in the interior, I once saw inscribed around every division of a seven-storied pagoda, is supposed by Sir W. Jones to express amita, "immeasurable," the Sanscrit epithet of Buddha: and it is probable that a person acquainted with both the languages would recognize abundance of Sanscrit words in the books of the Chinese bonzes.*

The *San-kwŏ*, or three nations into which the empire was divided, towards the close of *Han* A.D. 200, were *Wei* in the north, *Woo*, whose capital was at *Nan-king*, and *Shŏ* in the modern *Sze-chuen*. The period of the three nations is a very favourite subject of the historical plays of the Chinese, as well as of a well written and much prized historical romance, which bears the same name, and of which Sir George Staunton possesses a curious Latin translation.† The dress of that period, as represented on the stage, and in pictures, forms a singular contrast with the modern garb which has been forced upon the Chinese by their Tartar conquerors. Instead of the long queue or tail, proceeding from a single tuft at the back of the head, and which forms the usual handle for seizing offenders, the ancient Chinese are depicted with fine heads of hair, folded beneath their caps, and with dresses of ... fashion differing altogether from the national costume of the present day. ... circumstances could more strongly prove the complete subjection of ... ese by the Manchew Tartars, than this one of the total change in ... onal dress. Modes of government and political institutions may ... in despotic countries, without the notice or even knowledge of

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... nder great obligations to Professor Bopp of Germany, for proving ... anscrit and the Greek are little more than dialects of the same ... of a few scattered words might have been regarded as accidental ... es considerable hardihood of disbelief to set aside the resemblance ... conjugations of verbs, &c. &c. Even in the above-mentioned word ... allow a great resemblance to *το αμετρον*, the (α) in both cases having

... ce ... presented by Sir George to the Royal Asiatic Society, and

a large mass of the community: but a change in the national costume, in consequence of a peremptory command, affects every individual equally, from the highest to the lowest, and is, perhaps, of all others, the most open and degrading mark of conquest. It can never be submitted to, except by a people who are thoroughly subdued; nor ever imposed, except by a government that feels itself well able to *enforce* a measure, which is perhaps resorted to for no other purpose than to try, or to break, the spirit of the vanquished. The second conquest of China, in the seventeenth century, by the Eastern, or Manchew Tartars, who had not entire possession of the southern provinces until the reign of *Kang-*[illegible], was not so violent, or so bloody, as its first conquest by the Western or Mongols, under Coblai Khan, in the thirteenth; but it was not less complete, and has already continued much longer.

After the time of *Han*, and at the commencement of the period called *Woo-tae*, or the Five short Dynasties, A.D. 416-620, China is recorded to have been divided into two Empires, the Northern and Southern. The Emperor of the North, however, having promoted a person, named *Yang-këen*, to the situation of his first minister, and formed an alliance between his own daughter and the minister's son, soon after made *Yang-këen* sovereign of the state *Suy*. During the following reign, this ambitious person took the title of Emperor, and having crossed the *Keang*, dethroned the sovereign of the south, and united the two empires into one, A.D. 585. The seat of government was soon after removed from *Shen-si* to *Honan*, as to a more centrical situation.

During the Dynasty *Tang*,* which immediately succeeded, and which lasted from A.D. 620-900, a circumstance highly deserving of attention is the extraordinary power which the Eunuchs of the palace seem to have assumed. For a considerable time, their influence and authority were such, as to enable them to make and unmake emperors at pleasure, like the

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	A.D.	A.D.
* After *Tang*, we have the five latter dynasties	900	950
Sung	950	1281
Yuen, or Mongols	1281	1365
Ming, or Chinese restored	1365	1644
Ta-tsing, the present Manchows	1644 down to the present time	

Pretorian guards at Rome. As they could not, like the latter, have possessed any real or substantial power, we must necessarily refer so curious a circumstance to the operations of intrigue. The uncontrolled access which their neutralized condition gave them to all parts of the palace, and to the company of both sexes, was greatly calculated to facilitate their projects: and projects of mischief and disorder were likely enough to be formed by persons in their miserable condition, who looked with an eye of envy and hatred on all the rest of the human race. The awe of state was nothing felt by those who were the immediate attendants, and perhaps the companions of the sovereign, in his private haunts: and that barrier being once passed, the approaches of insolence and usurpation advanced with less interruption. At the close of the dynasty, however, their power was finally crushed in a general massacre: and though eunuchs are at this day employed at Pekin in great numbers, the more modern history of China has not recorded their interference in the revolutions of the Empire.*

In the above brief view of the principal facts connected with the *earlier* history of China, I have contented myself with noticing such points, as seemed best calculated to convey a general notion of the real antiquity of the Empire, or were most deserving of attention in themselves; and I am of opinion, that a careful examination of its authentic annals, undertaken with a proper degree of scepticism towards the misrepresentations of national vanity, will establish the following facts: that the antiquity of China as an *Empire*, has been greatly exaggerated, and that it cannot be dated earlier than the reign of *Chi-hoang-ti*, about B.C. 200; that it was then confined

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* It was about the end of the same dynasty of *Tang*, or very soon after, that the strange custom of cramping the feet of the higher classes of women is recorded to have commenced. As it has always appeared to myself impossible to refer the origin of such shocking mutilation to any notions of physical beauty, however arbitrary, I am inclined to ascribe it to a principle which unquestionably dictates the *long nails* of the literati and higher classes of Chinese men. The idea conveyed by these is *exemption from labour*, and as the small feet make perfect cripples of the ladies, it is fair to conclude that the idea of gentility which they convey, arises from a similar association. That appearance of helplessness, which the mutilation induces, is much admired by the Chinese, notwithstanding its usual concomitant of extreme unhealthiness; and in their poetry, I have frequently observed the tottering gait of the poor women compared to "the waving of a willow in the breeze." A Mandarin once told me, with great gravity, that the compression of the ladies' feet in early youth was highly desirable,—*quod carnem ex pedibus in crura misit, et pinguiora ea ob hanc causam fecit.*

almost entirely to that half of modern China, which lies between the great river Keang, and the confines of Tartary; that it was subsequently split into several independent nations, which, after va ous contests and revolutions, were formed into *two* Empires, the Northern and Southern, and became finally united under *one* head, about A.D. 585; that China has been the theatre of as bloody and continued wars as have ravaged most of the other countries of the globe; that it has twice, and at n very distant periods of time, been completely conquered by foreign barb rians; and that its last conquerors exercise over it, at this day, an impe ous, and by no means impartial sway, but one in which the preceder the trust are, in most cases, conferred on the Tartar.

Among other points of inquiry relating to the Chinese, their attainments in the various branches of human knowledge have naturally been the objects of much curiosity in Europe. With respect to those arts of life which administer to the wants and enjoyments of mankind, they must be allowed to have made a very early and considerable proficiency, and are even at this day, in many respects, the most skilful and best workmen in the world. Of science, however, they are, and appear always to have been, entirely destitute. It is a curious circumstance that they and the Hindus, (whether they had, or had not, any connexion in remote antiquity,) should have existed so long in the immediate vicinity of each other, and at the same time possessed so little in common. With the exception of the sect of *Fŏ*, or Buddha, an Indian heresy, which found refuge in the Empire from the persecutions of a bigotted priesthood, the Chinese appear to me to have received nothing from their western neighbours. The ancient skill of the Hindus, in astronomical and algebraic science, has been clearly and ably demonstrated: but no proofs have yet occurred that they imparted any portion of th t skill to the Chinese. I feel pers aded that, until the introduction of astronomy into the Empire by the Arabians, in the first instance, and subsequently by the European Missionaries, the whole science of the Chinese consisted in a careful observation and scrupulous notation of the eclipses, and other heavenly phenomena. Their ignorance led them to attach the most important political influences to the different aspect and conjunctions of the celestial orbs, and hence arose the exactness with which they marked and chronicled them.

Confucius has recorded six and thirty eclipses of the sun, the greate number of which have been verified by the calculations of European ast

nomers: but the recording an eclipse may prove the authenticity of historical annals, while, at the same time, it proves nothing as to the existence of astronomical science. Some persons have been led to suspect that the Chinese must at one time have possessed the astronomy of the Hindus, by their having twenty-eight lunar mansions, and a cycle of sixty years: but a careful observation of the essential differences that exist on either side, must remove all shadow of identity. The Hindu cycle is a cycle of Jupiter, while that of the Chinese is a solar cycle; and the twenty-eight constellations of the Hindus are nearly all of them equal divisions of the circle, consisting of about 13° each, while the Chinese constellations are extremely unequal, varying from 30° to less than 1°.

That the Chinese possessed no real science of their own, and that they obtained none from the Hindus, is, I think, proved by the readiness with which they adopted that of Europeans. On this one subject that singular nation has deviated from its established prejudices and maxims against introducing what is foreign: and that a people so self-sufficient and vain, should at once, in open violation of their general practice, have adopted the science of foreigners, and raised its professors to high dignities, is perhaps the strongest proof in the world that they possessed none of their own. It appears that they have in former times adopted the very *errors* of our astronomy, most probably from the Arabians. I discovered in an old Chinese book the most exact delineation of the Ptolemaic system, with its crystalline orbs, primum mobile, &c. &c. and the Earth occupying a conspicuous place in the centre of all. Indeed it is impossible not to smile at the idea of attributing *any* science to a people, whose learned books are filled with such trumpery as the diagrams of *Fŏ-hi,* and a hundred other puerilities of the same kind.

In a consideration of this vast and extraordinary Empire, there is no point of inquiry more curious, or more interesting, than the amount of its *population;* and though it deserves to be ascertained with some degree of accuracy, it has perhaps been the subject of as many vague guesses and conjectures as any other. The enormous amount of 333 millions, stated to Lord Macartney, was supported by no better authority than the mere assertions of Mandarins, at all times ready enough to make the most of their country in the eyes of foreigners, and generally possessed of very little correct information on such points, even if they were willing to give it. The document to which Dr. Morrison refers for the sum of 143 millions, would be deserving of great attention, did it not destroy its own credit by

e tremendous absurdity of its statements. According to this statisti ork (the *Yĕ-tung-chy*), the total population about A. D. 1644, was twen ven millions and a half, and in 1790 it was increased to 143 millio Oh, monstrous! eleven buckram men grown out of two!" The popu on of an old country like China more than quintupled in 146 years! T quite incredible, and throws great discredit either on the *Yĕ-tung-c* on the accuracy of the Chinese in taking their census. Twenty-sev illions and a half seem much too little for China in the year 1644, a ere must either be some mistake in the dates, or the later census was orrect one, and the earlier altogether erroneous. Grosier states, on thority of the *Yĕ-tung-chy*, (though he makes the date of it 1743,) t e population of China proper was somewhat more than 142 millions, a y a calculation of his own, to include those whom he assumes to have be ft out in the census, increases the number to 157 millions. To t ccount he subjoins the copy of an estimate of the population, called *Chu in-soo*,* which, he says, was made in the 27th year of Kien-Lung, or 17 d received in France from the missionaries in 1779. This, which sta e population at 198 millions, is not to be depended on, as the Chin enerally profess to be ignorant of the existence of such a document. I kely to be spurious, or at least *unofficial*, and certainly does not deserve uch credit as even the *Yĕ-tung chy*, which is a national work. Thus ould appear, that the only thing *certain* is our total ignorance of the opulation of China;

"And all our knowledge is, we nothing know."

Some persons have been disposed to draw sweeping inferences from umbers that were observed by the two British embassies of 1794 and 18 ut surely these were not the proper data for such calculations. The nces and districts, through which both missions passed, are confesse e richest of the whole Empire; and beyond comparison excel, both rtility and population, those to the westward. The grand canal, and *ang-tsze-Keang*, render them the great commercial route between orthern and southern provinces; as well as the channel of almost all p cal communication. A British embassy was calculated to draw, and ctually draw together, the whole population of the cities and neighbo

* "An account of the whole people."

hoods through which they passed; and the officers of government observed frequently to us, during the progress of Lord Amherst's embassy, that the "*jĕ-naou*," "the crowd and bustle," exceeded any thing they had before witnessed. What sound inferences then can be drawn from the observations of either mission, respecting the real population of China? A statistical work like the *Yĕ-tung-chy*, whose professed object was to treat of the resources of the Empire, was very unlikely (however incorrect it might be), to *underrate* the amount of population. We may, therefore, assume with tolerable certainty, that about 150 millions is the *full extent* of the Chinese population; that is, less than one half of the 333 millions stated to Lord Macartney.

Whatever the actual population of the Empire may be, it probably is as thickly peopled in some of its provinces, as any of the richest countries of Europe: but there is every reason to believe that this is not uniform, and that, by the application of additional stimuli to its resources, the whole country might be rendered vastly more wealthy and populous than at present. These stimuli have been stated generally, by political economists, to consist in the distribution and demand arising first, from the division of the lands of a country; secondly, from foreign and internal commerce; thirdly, from the maintenance of unproductive consumers.* With respect to the first of these, it may safely be affirmed that the subdivision of land in China could not be carried much further with advantage. A great landed proprietor is a character unknown in the country, and all the institutions of the Empire, as well as the habits of the people, are generally inimical to a great accumulation of any kind of property by an individual.† As to its commerce, although the *internal* trade of China has long since arrived at a very high pitch, and may from the beginning be regarded as the chief cause of the wealth and populousness of the Empire, its *foreign* commerce must be considered as very trifling indeed, in comparison with the productive powers of the whole country. If the habits of the people, and the policy of the government,

* Malthus. Political Economy, ch. 7, sect. 7, page 427.

† Extraordinary wealth never fails, in a country where *justice* is administered as it is in China, to attract the grasp of rapacity; "*feriuntque summos fulmina montes.*" A certain affectation of patriarchal simplicity and *purity*, on the part of the Mandarins, operates as a sumptuary law, and gives a corresponding tone to the habits of the people, as far as relates to external equipage and show. Superfluous wealth finds itself a vent in the shades of domestic privacy, in contributing to the gratification of every species of sensuality.

should ever change so far as to admit of an unrestrained intercourse with the rest of the world, it is really impossible to conceive to what an extent the wealth and power of that country might increase, favoured as it is in point of fertility, climate, and facility of internal intercourse, as well as in the industrious character of its inhabitants. As far as regards the third point, although the number of unproductive consumers might be greatly extended by the increased number and efficiency of its military establishments, by the formation of a naval force proportioned to the extent of its coasts, and by an increase in the use of various other kinds of unproductive labour, this consideration is quite trifling in comparison with the results of an *extended foreign trade.*

With a view to guard against a very common danger, that of *false inferences*, I must apologize for the super-addition of a few observations, which may appear somewhat out of place in this paper. Such a trade, as the above mentioned, can never take place without a complete change in the habits of the people, and the maxims of the government. Let no inference be drawn from the foregoing remarks, in favour of an *open trade* between this country and China. Until the other party change their restrictive policy, it is not expedient for us to change ours. I am firmly of opinion, and this opinion is founded on some degree of local experience, some knowledge of the language, and considerable intercourse with the natives, that if, at the expiration of the Charter, the present system be altered, it will be an experiment attended with the *greatest hazard.* There is no maxim more generally true, than that monopoly is not so good as unfettered intercourse; but there is, at the same time, no greater source of error, than the application of general principles, without a due regard to the peculiarities of individual cases: and if the government shall ever be induced by popular clamour,—by the "civium ardor *prava* jubentium,"—to throw the trade with China open, there is every reason for predicting, that it will be a sacrifice of the true interests of the *whole* to the outcries of a *part*, though that may be the most numerous part of the community. We shall soon find that we buy *worse* tea, and pay *dearer* for it; not to mention the difference that it will make, in the collection of nearly four millions of revenue, and the facilities that will be afforded to smuggling, with the temptation to evade a duty of one hundred per cent.: and for the reasons of all this, I need only refer to the evidence before Parliament in 1813, as well as to Sir George Staunton's notices of China, published in 1822. The systematic, and un-

ceasingly operating spirit of encroachment, imposition, and extortion, on the part of the Chinese, requires the constant pressure of a counteracting check, the firm and concentrated, though mild and judicious, opposition of all the resources in one power. These resources consist in a long experience and thorough knowledge of the people, an intimate acquaintance with their language, and an adequate (though not overweening) confidence in, as well as a temperate use of, the influence arising to the Company, *as a body*, from the value and importance of the trade. The present system, namely, the establishment of a resident Factory, acting with knowledge, judgment, and unanimity, and possessing the most thorough controul over a numerous fleet of ships, whose commodore, captains, and officers depend for character and employment on the discipline which they preserve in the river among 2500 seamen, as well as on the obedience which they themselves pay to the orders of the Committee, can alone ensure the continuance of a trade, whose *existence* depends on the entire suppression of disorder on the one hand, as much as its *value* does on the successful opposition to extortion on the other. This excellently organized system may with truth be affirmed, (like most others,) gradually to have arisen out of the *necessity for it*. Any person at all acquainted with the early history of our intercourse with China, when every separate ship of the Company transacted its own business, and when that intercourse in many points resembled *what a free trade would make it*, must have been struck by the endless and intolerable grievances to which we were subjected by the Chinese, and which frequently reduced us to the brink of giving up the commerce altogether. (See Asiatic Journal for 1822.) It is quite idle to insist that the Americans are a proof of the success with which an open trade can be carried on. It is too evident that they participate in a very large portion of the advantages which our own system affords; that they absolutely trade under our wing; and that while we are constantly and successfully opposing, with the united weight of our influence and address, the infliction of destructive impositions on the *British* trade, the beneficial effects extend to foreign trade *in general*.

But to return from this digression. In a comparative estimate of the advancement and civilization of different countries, *at the present day*, it would not perhaps be a very difficult matter to assign to China her proper place, were the comparison confined to the nations of *Asia*. *There* she may be allowed to stand pre-eminent. Some persons, however, (and those well

acquainted with the country,) have been bold enough to assert, that she can challenge competition with the most refined states of Europe. But in what instances? Has natural science, or have even the arts, made the same progress there as here? Have the principles of moral or of political philosophy been as thoroughly investigated, or as clearly established? Is the state of one-half of the people, namely the female sex, so elevated or so happy as in Europe? Is the person or the property of the Chinese so secure, as the persons and properties of the subjects of most European states? Or, lastly, are the daily and domestic habits of the people so generally free from sensual and degrading vices? Until these questions can be answered in the affirmative, it is impossible to give to that country the lofty station which her advocates require. At the same time, it must be allowed, that she appears to have attained, at a very early period, to a considerable point of refinement in many respects, and that, with the exception of occasional and tremendous revolutions, she has been, for at least two thousand years, a wealthy, flourishing, and tolerably civilized portion of the globe. I am disposed to attribute this in a great measure to her particular geographical situation;* to the peculiarly favourable climate, or rather climates; the *moderate* average fertility of soil, and the great facility of internal intercourse, with which she has been gifted by nature. An attentive survey of most of the tropical regions of the globe, where the great heat of the climate, and the almost *morbid* fertility of the earth, tend to produce food in the greatest abundance,† will seem to justify the conclusion, that extreme fertility, or power of production, has been rather unfavourable to the progress of the human race; or at least, that the industry and advancement of nations has appeared in some measure to depend on a certain proportion between their *necessities* and their *natural resources*. Man is by nature an indolent animal, and without the stimulant of necessity, will in the first instance be inclined to get on, as well as he can, with the provision that nature has made for him. In the

* Between the 40th and 23d degrees of North latitude, that is, in the finest part of the temperate Zone.

† I was led to make the above observations during a voyage among the islands of the Eastern Archipelago, and I have since been gratified in finding them confirmed by the great authority of Mr. Malthus, in his late work upon Political Economy, in which he draws some important conclusions from the remarks of M. de Humboldt upon New Spain, ch. vii., sect. iv., p. 381.

warm and fertile regions of the Tropics, or rather of the Equinoctial, where lodging and clothing, the two most necessary things after food, are rendered almost superfluous by the climate, and where food itself is produced with very little exertion, we find how small an advancement has in most cases been made; while, on the other hand, the whole of Europe, and by far the greater part of China, is situated beyond the northern Tropic. If, again, we go *farther* north, to those Arctic Regions where men are still in a very miserable state, we shall find that *there* they have really no materials to work upon. Nature is such a niggard in the returns which she makes to labour, that industry is discouraged and *frozen*, as it were, in the outset. In other words, the *proportion* is destroyed. The equinoctial regions are too spontaneously fertile, and the arctic too unkindly barren: and industry, wealth, and civilization seem on this account to have been principally confined to the temperate zone, where there is at once *necessity* to excite labour, and *production*, to recompense it. I am well aware that there are other important circumstances, besides geographical situation, which influence the progress of nations: all I mean to say is, that the last cause does not seem generally to have met with the attention it deserves. It will be obvious too, that the foregoing observations apply solely to those countries whose inhabitants may be considered as *indigenous*, in the common acceptation of the word, and not to such as have been peopled by extensive emigrations from old states, whence all their industry and knowledge—"tanta memoria præteritorum futurorumque prudentia, tot artes, tantæ scientiæ, tot inventa"—have been transferred.

II. *On the Philosophy of the Hindus. Part I.* By Henry Thomas Colebrooke, *Esq., Director R.A.S., F.R.S., &c.*

Read June 21, 1823.

Introduction.

The *Hindus*, as is well known, possess various ancient systems of philosophy, which they consider to be orthodox, as consistent with the theology and metaphysics of the *Védas*; and have likewise preserved divers systems deemed heretical, as incompatible with the doctrines of their holy books.

The two *Mímánsás* (for there are two schools of metaphysics under this title) are emphatically orthodox. The prior one (*púrva*) which has Jaimini for its founder, teaches the art of reasoning, with the express view of aiding the interpretation of the *Védas*. The latter (*Uttara*) commonly called *Védánta*, and attributed to Vyása, deduces from the text of the Indian scriptures, a refined psychology, which goes to a denial of a material world.

The *Nyáya*, of which Gótama is the acknowledged author, furnishes a philosophical arrangement, with strict rules of reasoning, not unaptly compared to the dialectics of the Aristotelian school. Another course of philosophy connected with it bears the denomination of *Vaiśéshica*. Its reputed author is Canáde; who, like Democritus, maintained the doctrine of atoms.

A different philosophical system, partly heterodox, and partly conformable to the established *Hindu* creed, is the *Sánc'hya*: of which also, as of the preceding, there are two schools; one usually known by that name; the other commonly termed *Yóga*. A succinct exposition of the *Sánc'hya* doctrines is the design of the present essay: they are selected for that purpose, on account of the strong affinity which they manifestly bear to the metaphysical opinions of the sects of *Jina* and *Budd'ha*.

Though not strictly orthodox, both *Sánc'hyas* and the *Vaiśéshica*, as well as the *Nyáya*, are respected and studied by very rigid adherents of the *Védas*, who are taught, however, to reject so much as disagrees, and treasure up what is consonant to their scriptures. "In Canáde's doctrine, in "the *Sánc'hya*, and in the *Yóga*, that part, which is inconsistent with the

"*Védas,* is to be rejected by those who strictly adhere to revelation. In "Jaimini's doctrine, and in Vyása's, there is nothing whatsoever at variance "with scripture."*

Heretical treatises of philosophy are very numerous: among which that of Chárváca, which exhibits the doctrine of the *Jaina* sect, is most conspicuous: and next to it, the *Pásupáta.*

To them and to the orthodox systems before mentioned, it is not intended here to advert, further than as they are noticed by writers on the *Sánc'hya,* citing opinions of other schools of philosophy, in course of commenting on the text which they are engaged in expounding. It is not my present purpose to exhibit a contrasted view of the tenets of different philosophical schools; but to present to this Society a summary of the doctrine of a single sect: which will serve, however, to elucidate that of several more.

Of other philosophical sects, the received doctrines in detail may be best reserved for separate notice, in distinct essays to be hereafter submitted to the Society. I must be clearly understood, however, not to pledge myself definitively for that task.

I proceed without further preface to the immediate subject of the present essay:

A system of philosophy, in which precision of reckoning is observed in the enumeration of its principles, is denominated *Sánc'hya*; a term which has been understood to signify *numeral,* agreeably to the usual acceptation of *sanc'hyá,* number: and hence its analogy to the Pythagorean philosophy has been presumed. But the name may be taken to imply, that its doctrine is founded in the exercise of judgment: for the word, from which it is derived, signifies reasoning or deliberation;† and that interpretation of its import is countenanced by a passage of the *Bhárata,* where it is said of this sect of philosophers: "They exercise judgment (*sanc'hyá*), and discuss "nature and [other] twenty-four principles, and therefore are called "*Sánc'hya.*"‡

The commentator, who has furnished this quotation, expounds *sanc'hyá,* as here importing 'the discovery of soul by means of right discrimination.'‡

The reputed founder of this sect of metaphysical philosophy was Capila; an ancient sage, concerning whose origin and adventures the mythological

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* Quotation in Vijnyána—Bhicshu's—*Capila—bháshya.*

† *Am. Cosh.* l. 1, 4, 11. ‡ *Cap. Bhásh.*

fables, which occupy the place of history with the *Hindus*, are recounted variously. In Gaudapáda's commentary on the *Sánc'hya-Cáricá*, he is asserted to have been a son of Brahmá; being one of seven great *Rĭshis* or saints, named in *Puránas* or theogonies, as the offspring of that deity. His two most distinguished disciples, Asuri and Panchaśic'ha, are there exalted to the same rank and divine origin with himself. Another commentator maintains, that Capila was an incarnation of Vishńu. It had been affirmed by a writer on the *Védánta*, upon the authority of a passage quoted by him, wherein Capila, the founder of the *Sánc'hya* sect, is identified with *Agni*, fire, that he was an incarnation, not of Vishńu, but of *Agni*. The commentator is not content with the fiery origin conceded to the author. He denies the existence of more than one Capila; and insists, that the founder of this sect was an incarnation of Vishńu, born as the son of Dévadúti.*

In fact, the word *capila*, besides its ordinary signification of tawny colour, bears likewise that of fire: and, upon this ambiguity of sense, many legends in the Indian theogonies, concerning the saint of the name, have been grounded: a sample of which will be found quoted by Col. Wilford, in the Asiatic Researches.†

A passage, which is cited in the commentaries of Gaudapáda and Váchespati on the *Cáricá*, assigns to Capila intuitive knowledge, and innate virtue, with transcendent power and other perfections born with him at the earliest creation: and this is taken by those scholiasts as relating to the founder of the *Sánc'hya* sect. But another commentator of the *Cáricá*, Rámacrĭshńa, who belongs to the theistical branch of this sect, affirms that the passage in question concerns Íśwara, or God, acknowledged by that school.

A text, quoted in Vyása's commentary on Patanjali's *Yóga-śástra*,‡ and referred by the annotator Váchespati, as well as a modern scholiast of the *Yóga-sástra*, Nágójí, to Panchaśic'ha the disciple of Asuri, describes Capila as an incarnation of the Deity: "The holy and first wise one, "entering a mind by himself framed, and becoming the mighty sage "(Capila), compassionately revealed this science to Asuri."§

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* *Vijnyána* in *Cap. bhásh.* † Vol. III. p. 355. ‡ *Patanj. Sánc'h. prav.* 1, 25.

§ *Panch. sútra*, quoted in *Vyása's bháshya*.

It may be questioned whether Capila be not altogether a mythological personage, to whom the true author of the doctrine, whoever he was, thought fit to ascribe it.

A collection of *sútras,* or succinct aphorisms, in six lectures, attributed to Capila himself, is extant under the title of *Sánc'hya-pravachana.* As an ancient work (whoever may have been really its author), it must doubtless have been expounded by early scholiasts. But the only commentary, which can at present be referred to by name, is the *Capila-bháshya;* or, as the author himself cites it in his other works, *Sánc'hya-bháshya.* The title at full length, in the epigraph of the book, is *Capila-sánc'hya-pravachana-śástra-bháshya.* It is by Vijnyána-bhicshu, a mendicant ascetic (as his designation imports) who composed a separate treatise on the attainment of beatitude in this life, entitled *Sánc'hya-sára;* and wrote many other works; particularly the *Yóga-vártica,* consisting of scholia on Patanjali's *Yóga-śástra* and the *Brahme-mímánsá-bháshya,* which is a commentary on a treatise of *Védánti* philosophy.

It appears from the preface of the *Capila-bháshya,* that a more compendious tract, in the same form of *sútras* or aphorisms, bears the title of *Tatwa-samása,* and is ascribed to the same author, Capila. The scholiast intimates, that both are of equal authority, and in no respect discordant: one being a summary of the greater work; or else this an amplification of the conciser one. The latter was probably the case; for there is much repetition in the *Sánc'hya-pravachana.*

It is avowedly not the earliest treatise on this branch of philosophy: since it contains references to former authorities for particulars, which are but briefly hinted in the *sútras;** and it quotes some by name, and among them Panchaśic'ha,† the disciple of the reputed author's pupil: an anachronism which appears decisive.

The title of *Sánc'hya-pravachana* seems a borrowed one; at least it is common to several compositions. It appertains to Patanjali's *Yóga-śástra.*

If the authority of the scholiast of Capila may be trusted, the *Tatwa-samása* is the proper text of the *Sánc'hya;* and its doctrine is more fully, but separately set forth, by the two ampler treatises, entitled *Sánc'hya-pravachana,* which contain a fuller exposition of what had been there succinctly delivered: Patanjali's work supplying the deficiency of Capila's,

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* Cap. 3, 39. † Cap. 6.

and declaring the existence of God, which for argument's sake, and not absolutely and unreservedly, he had denied.

Of the six lectures or chapters, into which the *sútras* are distributed, the three first comprise an exposition of the whole *Sánc'hya* doctrine. The fourth contains illustrative comparisons, with reference to fables and tales. The fifth is controversial, confuting opinions of other sects: which is the case also with part of the first. The sixth and last treats of the most important parts of the doctrine, enlarging upon topics before touched.

The *Cáricá*, which will be forthwith mentioned as the text book or standard authority of the *Sánc'hya*, has an allusion to the contents of the fourth and fifth chapters; professing to be a complete treatise of the science, exclusive of illustrative tales and controversial disquisitions.* The author must have had before him the same collection of *sútras*, or one similarly arranged. His scholiast expressly refers to the numbers of the chapters.†

Whether the *Tatwa-samása* of Capila be extant, or whether the *sútras* of Panchaśic'ha be so, is not certain. The latter are frequently cited, and by modern authors on the *Sánc'hya*: whence a presumption, that they may be yet forthcoming.

The best text of the *Sánc'hya* is a short treatise in verse, which is denominated *Cáricá*, as memorial verses of other sciences likewise are. The acknowledged author is Íśwara-Crishńa, described in the concluding lines or epigraph of the work itself, as having received the doctrine, through a succession of intermediate instructors from Panchaśic'ha, by whom it was first promulgated; and who was himself instructed by Asuri, the disciple of Capila.‡

This brief tract, containing seventy-two stanzas in *áryá* metre, has been expounded in numerous commentaries.

One of these is the work of Gaudapáda the celebrated scholiast of the *Upanishads* of the *Védas*, and preceptor of Sancara Acharya, author likewise of numerous treatises on divers branches of theological philosophy. It is entitled *Sánc'hya-bháshya.*

Another, denominated *Sánc'hya-chandricá*, is by Náráyańa Tírt'ha, who seems from his designation to have been an ascetic. He was author likewise of a gloss on the *Yóga-śástra*, as appears from his own references to it.

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* *Cár.* 72. † *Nár. T.* ‡ *Cár.* 70 and 71.

A third commentary, under the title of *Sánc'hya-tatwa-caumudí*, or more simply *Tatwa-caumudí* (for so it is cited by later commentators) is by Váchespati miśra, a native of *Tirhút*, author of similar works on various other philosophical systems. It appears from the multiplicity of its copies, which are unusually frequent, to be the most approved gloss on the text.

One more commentary, bearing the analogous but simpler title of *Sánc'hya-caumudí*, is by Ráma-críshńa Bhattácharya, a learned, and not ancient writer of Bengal, who has for the most part followed preceding commentators, borrowing frequently from Náráyańa Tírt'ha, though taking the title of his commentary from Váchespati's.

The scholiasts of the *Cáricá* have, in more than one place, noticed the text of the *sútras*; thus formally admitting the authority of the aphorisms. The excellence of the memorial verses (*Cáricá*), with the gloss of Gaudapáda, and that of Váchespati miśra, has been the occasion of both collections of aphorisms (*Tatwa samása* and *Sánc'hya-pravachana*) falling into comparative neglect. They are superseded for a text book of the sect by Íśwara-críshńa's clearer and more compendious work. Both *sútras* and *cáricá* may be considered to be genuine and authoritative expositions of the doctrine; and the more especially, as they do not, upon any material point, appear to disagree.

The several works before-mentioned, are the principal works in which the *Sánc'hya* philosophy may be now studied. Others, which are cited by scholiasts, may possibly be yet forthcoming. But they are at least scarce, and no sufficient account of them can be given upon the strength of a few scattered quotations. Among them, however, may be named the *Rája-vártica* to which reference is made, as to a work held in much estimation, and which appears to comprise annotations on the *sútras*; and the *Sangraha*, which is cited for parallel passages explanatory of the text, being an abridged exposition of the same doctrines, in the form of a select compilation.

Concerning the presumable antiquity of either Capila's aphorisms, or Íśwara-críshńa's memorial couplets, I shall here only remark, that notices of them, with quotations from both, do occur in philosophical treatises of other schools; whereby their authenticity is so far established.

Besides the *Sánc'hya* of Capila and his followers, another system, bearing the same denomination, but more usually termed the *Yóga-śástra*, or *Yóga-sútra*, as before remarked, is ascribed to a mythological being, Patanjali, the supposed author of the great grammatical commentary emphatically

named the *Mahábháshya*, and likewise of a celebrated medical treatise termed *Characa*, and other distinguished performances.

The collection of *Yóga-sútras*, bearing the common title of *Sánc'hya pravachana*, is distributed into four chapters or quarters (*páda*): the first on contemplation (*samád'hi*); the second on the means of its attainment; the third on the exercise of transcendent power (*vibhúti*); the fourth on abstraction or spiritual insulation (*caiwalya*).

An ancient commentary on this fanatical work is forthcoming, entitled *Pátánjala-bháshya*. It is attributed to *Véda-vyása*, the compiler of the Indian scriptures, and founder of the *Védánti* school of philosophy. Váchespati miśra has furnished scholia on both text and gloss. This scholiast has been already noticed as an eminent interpreter of the *Cáricá*: and the same remark is here applicable, that the multiplicity of copies indicates the estimation in which his gloss is held above other scholia.

Another commentary is by Vijnyána-bhicshu before mentioned. He refers to it in his other works under the name of *Yóga-vártica*. It probably is extant: for quotations from it occur in modern compilations.

A third commentary denominated *Rája-mártańda* is ascribed in its preface and epigraph to Rańa-ranga-malla, surnamed Bhója-rája or Bhója-pati, sovereign of *Dhárá*, and therefore called *Dhárésẃara*. It was probably composed at his court, under his auspices; and his name has been affixed to it in compliment to him, as is no uncommon practice. It is a succinct and lucid exposition of the text.

An ampler commentary by a modern *Maháráshtriya Brahman*, named Nágójí-bhatta Upád'hyáya, bears the title of *Patanjali-sútra-vritti*. It is very copious and very clear.

The tenets of the two schools of the *Sánc'hya* are on many, not to say on most, points, that are treated in both, the same; differing however upon one, which is the most important of all: the proof of existence of supreme God.

The one school (Patanjali's) recognising God is therefore denominated theistical (*séśwara sánc'hya*). The other, (Capila's) is atheistical, (*niríśwara-sánc'hya*) as the sects of *Jina* and *Buddha* in effect are: acknowledging no creator of the universe, nor supreme ruling providence. The gods of Capila are beings superior to man; but, like him, subject to change and transmigration.

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A third school, denominated *Pauráńica sánc'hya*, considers nature as an illusion: conforming upon most other points to the doctrine of PATANJALI, and upon many, to that of CAPILA. In several of the *Puránas*, as the *Matsya*, *Cúrma* and *Vishńu*, in particular, the cosmogony, which is an essential part of an Indian theogony, is delivered consonantly to this system. That, which is found at the beginning of MENU's institutes of law, is not irreconcileable to it.*

Doctrine of the Sánc'hya.

THE professed design of all the schools of the *Sánc'hya*, theistical, atheistical, and mythological, as of other Indian systems of philosophy, is to teach the means by which eternal beatitude may be attained after death, if not before it.

In a passage of the *Védas*, it is said, "Soul is to be known, it is to be discriminated from nature: thus it does not come again; it does not come again."† Consonantly to this, and to numberless other passages of a like import, the whole scope of the *Védánta* is to teach a doctrine, by the knowledge of which, an exemption from metempsychosis shall be attainable; and to inculcate that as the grand object to be sought, by means indicated.

Even in the aphorisms of the *Nyáya*‡ the same is proposed as the reward of a thorough acquaintance with that philosophical arrangement.

In like manner the Grecian philosophers, and Pythagoras and Plato in particular, taught that "the end of philosophy is to free the mind from incumbrances which hinder its progress towards perfection, and to raise it to the contemplation of immutable truth," and "to disengage it from all animal passions, that it may rise above sensible objects to the contemplation of the world of intelligence."§

In all systems of the *Sánc'hya* the same purpose is propounded. "Future pain," says PATANJALI, "is to be prevented. A clear knowledge of discriminate truth is the way of its prevention."‖

It is true knowledge, as CAPILA and his followers insist,¶ that alone can secure entire and permanent deliverance from evil: whereas temporal means, whether for exciting pleasure, or for relieving mental and bodily

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* *Menu*, 1. 14—19. † *Gaud.* on *Cár.* ‡ *Gót. sútr.*

§ Enfield's Hist. of Phil. 1. 382 and 233. ‖ *Pat.* 2. 16 and 26. ¶ *Cap.* 1. 1. *Car.* 1.

sufferance, are insufficient to that end; and the spiritual resources of practical religion are imperfect; since sacrifice, the most efficacious of observances, is attended with the slaughter of animals, and consequently is not innocent and pure; and the heavenly meed of pious acts is transitory.*

In support of these positions, passages are cited from the *Védas* declaring in express terms the attainment of celestial bliss by celebration of sacrifices: "Whoever performs an *áśwa méd'ha* (or immolation of a horse) conquers all worlds; overcomes death; expiates sin; atones for sacrilege." In another place, Indra and the rest of the subordinate deities, are introduced exulting on their acquisition of bliss. "We have drunk the juice of asclepias,† and are become immortal; we have attained effulgence; we have learned divine truths. How can a foe harm us? How can age affect the immortality of a deathless being?"‡ Yet it appears in divers parts of the Indian scriptures, that, according to *Hindu* theology, even those deities, though termed immortal, have but a definite duration of life, perishing with the whole world, at its periodical dissolution. "Many thousands of *Indras* and of other Gods have passed away, in successive periods, overcome by time: for time is hard to overcome."§

Complete and perpetual exemption from every sort of ill is the beatitude which is proposed for attainment by acquisition of perfect knowledge. "Absolute prevention of all three sorts of pain," as an aphorism of the *Sánc'hya* intimates, "is the highest purpose of soul."‖ Those three sorts are evil proceeding from self, from external beings, or from divine causes: the first is either bodily, as disease of various kinds; or mental, as cupidity, anger, and other passions: the two remaining sorts arise from external sources; one excited by some mundane being; the other, by the agency of a being of a superior order, or produced by a fortuitous cause.

True and perfect knowledge, by which deliverance from evil of every kind is attainable, consists in rightly discriminating the principles, perceptible and imperceptible, of the material world, from the sensitive and cognitive principle which is the immaterial soul. Thus the *Cáricá* premises, that "the inquiry concerns means of precluding the three sorts of pain: for pain is embarrassment. Nor is the inquiry superfluous, because obvious means of alleviation exist: for absolute and final relief is not thereby accomplished.

* *Car.* 1. † *Sóma*; the moon-plant. Asclepias acida.

‡ *Gaud.* on *Car.* 2. § *Ibid.* ‖ *San. prav.* 1. 1.

The revealed mode is, like the temporal one, ineffectual: for it is impure; and it is defective in some respects, as well as excessive in others. A method, different from both, is preferable, consisting in a discriminative knowledge of perceptible principles, and of the imperceptible one; and of the thinking soul."*

The revealed mode, to which allusion is here made, is not theological doctrine, with the knowledge of first principles, insuring exemption from transmigration; but performance of religious ceremonies enjoined in the practical *Védas;* and especially the immolation of victims, for which a heavenly reward, a place among the Gods, is promised.

It is not pure, observes the scholiast, for it is attended with the slaughter of animals, which, if not sinful in such cases, is, to say the least, not harmless. The merit of it, therefore, is of a mixed nature. A particular precept expresses "slay the consecrated victim:" but a general maxim ordains "hurt no sentient being." It is defective, since even the Gods, Indra and the rest, perish at the appointed period. It is in other respects excessive, since the felicity of one is a source of unhappiness to another.

Visible and temporal means, to which likewise reference is made in the text, are medicine and other remedies for bodily ailment; diversion alleviating mental ills; a guard against external injury; charms for defence from accidents. Such expedients do not utterly preclude sufferance. But true knowledge, say Indian philosophers, does so; and they undertake to teach the means of its attainment.

By three kinds of evidence, exclusive of intuition, which belongs to beings of a superior order, demonstration is arrived at, and certainty is attained, by mankind: namely, perception, inference, and affirmation.† All authorities among the *Sánc'hyas* (Patanjali and Capila, as well as their respective followers) concur in asserting these. Other sources of knowledge, admitted in different systems of philosophy, are reducible to these three. Comparison, or analogy, which the logicians of Gótama's school add to that enumeration, and tradition and other arguments, which Jaimini maintains (*viz.* capacity, aspect, and privation of four sorts, antecedent, reciprocal, absolute, and total,) are all comprehended therein. Other philosophers, who recognise fewer sources of knowledge, as Chárváca, who acknowledges percep-

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* *Car.* 1. and 2, with Scholia. † *Car.* 4. *Pat.* 1. 7. *Cap.* 1.

tion only, and the *Vaiśéshicas*, who disallow tradition, are rejected as insufficient authorities.*

Inference is of three sorts, equally admitted by the schools of the *Sánc'hya* and Gótamá's *Nyáya*; and in all distinguished by the same denominations. The consideration of them more properly belongs to the dialectic philosophy, than to this; and may therefore be postponed. It will be here sufficient to state the simplest explanation furnished by scholiasts of the *Cáricá* and *Sútras*, without going into the differences which occur in their expositions.

One sort, then, is the inference of an effect from a cause: the second is that of a cause from an effect; the third is deduced from a relation other than that of cause and effect. Examples of them are, 1st, rain anticipated from a cloud seen gathering. 2d. Fire concluded on a hill, whence smoke ascends. 3d. A flower's appropriate colour presumed where its peculiar scent is noticed; or motion of the moon's orb, deduced from observation of it in different aspects; or saltness of the sea, concluded from that of a sample of sea water; or bloom surmised on mangoe-trees in general, when an individual mangoe tree is found in blossom.

In regard to the third kind of evidence, tradition or right affirmation,† explained as intending true revelation,‡ commentators understand it to mean the *Védas* or sacred writ, including the recollections of those gifted mortals, who remember passages of their former lives, and call to mind events which occurred to them in other worlds; and excluding, on the other hand, pretended revelations of impostors and barbarians.

In a dialogue cited from the *Védas*, one of the interlocutors, the holy Jaigíshavya, asserts his presence, and consequent recollection of occurrences, through ten renovations of the universe (*Mahásarga*).

In a more extended sense, this third kind of evidence is the affirmation of any truth; and comprises every mode of oral information or verbal communication, whence knowledge of a truth may be drawn.

From these three sources, by the right exercise of judgment and due application of reasoning, true knowledge is derived; consisting in a discriminative acquaintance with principles: which, in the *Sán'chya* system, are reckoned to be not less than twenty-five; *viz.*

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* *Com. on Car.* 5. † *Pat.* 1. 7. ‡ *Car.* 4. and 5.

1. Nature, *Pracriti* or *Múla-pracriti*, the root or plastic origin of all: termed *Prád'hána* the chief one: the universal, material cause; identified by the cosmogony of the *Puráńas* (in several of which the *Sánc'hya* philosophy is followed) with *Máyá* or illusion; and, by mythologists, with *Bráhmí* the power or energy of *Brahmá*. It is eternal matter, undiscrete; undistinguishable, as destitute of parts; inferrible, from its effects: being productive, but no production.

2. Intelligence, called *Budd'hi* and *Mahat* or the great one: the first production of nature, increate, prolific; being itself productive of other principles. It is identified by the mythological *Sánc'hya* with the *Hindu* triad of Gods. A very remarkable passage of the *Matsya-puráńa* cited in the *Sánc'hya-sára*, after declaring that the *great* principle is produced "from modified nature," proceeds to affirm, "that the *great* one becomes distinctly known, as three Gods, through the influence of the three qualities of goodness, foulness, and darkness; 'being one person, and three Gods,' (*écá múrtis trayó dévàh*) namely, Brahmá, Vishńu, and Mahéśwara. In the aggregate it is the deity; but, distributive, it appertains to individual beings."

3. Consciousness, termed *Ahancára*, or more properly egotism, which is the literal sense of the term: the peculiar and appropriate function of it is (*abhimána*) selfish conviction, a belief that, in perception and meditation, "I" am concerned; that the objects of sense concern me; in short, that I am. It proceeds from the intellectual principle, and is productive of those which follow.

4—8. Five subtile particles, rudiments, or atoms, denominated *Tanmátra*; perceptible to beings of a superior order, but unapprehended by the grosser senses of mankind: derived from the conscious principle, and themselves productive of the five grosser elements, earth, water, fire, air, and space.

9—19. Eleven organs of sense and action; which also are productions of the conscious principle. Ten are external: *viz.* five of sense, and five of action. The eleventh is internal, an organ both of sense and of action, termed *manas* or mind. The five instruments of sensation are, the eye, the ear, the nose, the tongue, and the skin. The five instruments of action are, 1st, voice, or the organ of speech; 2d, the hands; 3d, the feet; 4th, the excretory termination of the intestines; 5th, the organ of generation.

Mind, serving both for sense and action, is an organ by affinity, being cognate with the rest.

These eleven organs, with the two principles of intelligence and consciousness, are thirteen instruments of knowledge: three internal, and ten external, likened to three warders and ten gates.*

An external sense perceives; the internal one examines; consciousness makes the selfish application; and intellect resolves: an external organ executes.

20—24. Five elements, produced from the five elementary particles or rudiments. 1st, A diffused, etherial fluid (*ácása*), occupying space: it has the property of audibleness, being the vehicle of sound, derived from the sonorous rudiment or etherial atom. 2d, Air, which is endued with the properties of audibleness and tangibility, being sensible to hearing and touch; derived from the tangible rudiment, or aerial atom. 3d, Fire, which is invested with properties of audibleness, tangibility, and colour; sensible to hearing, touch, and sight: derived from the colouring rudiment, or igneous atom. 4th, Water, which possesses the properties of audibleness, tangibility, colour and savour; being sensible to hearing, touch, sight, and taste: derived from the savoury rudiment, or aqueous atom. 5th, Earth, which unites the properties of audibleness, tangibility, colour, savour, and odour; being sensible to hearing, touch, sight, taste, and smell: derived from the odorous rudiment, or terrene atom.

25. Soul, termed *Purusha*, *Pumas*, or *Atman*; which is neither produced nor productive. It is multitudinous, individual, sensitive, eternal, unalterable, immaterial.

The theistical *Sánc'hya* recognises the same principles; understanding, however, by *Purusha*, not individual soul alone, but likewise God (*Íśwara*), the ruler of the world.

These twenty-five principles are summarily contrasted in the *Cáricá*. "Nature, root of all, is no production. Seven principles; the GREAT or intellectual one, &c., are productions and productive. Sixteen are productions (unproductive). Soul is neither a production, nor productive."†

To this passage a close resemblance will be remarked in one which occurs at the beginning of Erigena's treatise De Divisione Naturæ, where he distinguishes these four: "That which creates and is not created; that which

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* *Car.* 32—35. † *Car.* 3.

is created and creates; that which is created and creates not; and that which neither creates nor is created."*

In several of the *Upanishads* of the *Védas* a similar distribution is affirmed, *viz.*, "eight productive principles, and sixteen productions."†

It is for contemplation of nature, and for abstraction from it, that union of soul with nature takes place, as the halt and the blind join for conveyance and for guidance: (one bearing and directed, the other borne and directing). By that union of soul and nature, creation, consisting in the development of intellect, and the rest of the principles, is effected.

The soul's wish is fruition, or liberation. For either purpose, it is in the first place invested with a subtile person, towards the formation of which the evolution of principles proceeds no further than the elementary rudiments.‡ This is composed then of intellect, consciousness, and mind, as well as the rest of the organs and instruments of life, conjoined with particles, or elementary rudiments, of five sorts: thus seventeen principles enter into its composition.§

This person, or subtile frame, termed *linga*, *linga-sarira*, or *súcshma-sarira*, is primeval, produced from original nature at the earliest or initial development of principles. It is unconfined; too subtile for restraint or hindrance (and thence termed *ativáhica*, surpassing the wind in swiftness): incapable of enjoyment, until it be invested with a grosser body, affected nevertheless by sentiments.

This is termed the rudimental creation (*tanmátra-sarga*).

The notion of an animated atom seems to be a compromise between the refined dogma of an immaterial soul, and the difficulty which a gross understanding finds in grasping the comprehension of individual existence, unattached to matter.

The grosser body, with which a soul clad in its subtile person is invested for the purpose of fruition, is composed of the five elements; or of four, excluding the etherial, according to some authorities; or of one, earth alone, according to others.‖ That grosser body, propagated by generation, is perishable. The subtile person is more durable, transmigrating through successive bodies, which it assumes, as a mimic shifts his disguises, to represent various characters.

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* J. Scoti. Erigenæ de div. nat. lib. 5. † *Garbha*, *Pras'na* and *Maitréya Upanishads*.
‡ *Cár.* 40. § *Cap.* 3. 8. ‖ *Cap.* 3. 16—18.

According to Capila,* as he is interpreted by his scholiast, there is intermediately a corporeal frame composed of the five elements, but tenuous or refined. It is termed *anusht'hána sarira*, and is the vehicle of the subtile person.

It is this, rather than the subtile person itself, which in Patanjali's *Yóga sástra* is conceived to extend, like the flame of a lamp over its wick, to a small distance above the skull.

The corporeal creation (*bhautica-sarga*), consisting of souls invested with gross bodies, comprises eight orders of superior beings, and five of inferior; which, together with man, who forms a class apart, constitute fourteen orders of beings, distributed in three worlds, or classes.

The eight superior orders of beings bear appellations familiar to Hindu theology: *Brahma, Prajápatis, Indras, Pitrîs, Gand'harvas, Yacshas, Rácshasas*, and *Piśáchas;* gods or demi-gods, demons and evil spirits.

The inferior orders of beings are quadrupeds, distinguished in two orders; birds; reptiles, fishes, and insects; vegetables and unorganic substances.

Above is the abode of goodness, peopled by beings of superior orders; virtue prevails there, and consequent bliss, imperfect however, inasmuch as it is transient. Beneath is the abode of darkness or illusion, where beings of an inferior order dwell; stolidity or dulness is there prevalent. Between is the human world, where foulness or passion predominates, attended with continual misery.

Throughout these worlds, sentient soul experiences ill arising from decay and death, until it be finally liberated from its union with person.

Besides the grosser corporeal creation and the subtile or personal, all belonging to the material world, the *Sánc'hya* distinguishes an intellectual creation (*pratyaya-sarga* or *bháva-sarga*); consisting of the affections of intellect, its sentiments or faculties, which are enumerated in four classes, as obstructing, disabling, contenting, or perfecting the understanding; and amount to fifty.

Obstructions of the intellect are error, conceit, passion, hatred, fear: which are severally denominated obscurity, illusion, extreme illusion, gloom, and utter darkness. These again are subdivided into sixty-two sorts: error comprising eight species; illusion, as many; extreme illusion, ten; gloom, eighteen; and utter darkness, the same number.

* *Cár.* 3. 10. 11.

Error, or obscurity, mistakes irrational nature, intellect, consciousness, or any one of the five elementary atoms, for the soul, and imagines liberation to consist in absorption into one of those eight prolific principles.

Conceit, termed illusion, imagines transcendent power, in any of its eight modes, to be deliverance from evil. Thus beings of a superior order, as *Indra* and the rest of the gods, who possess transcendent power of every sort, conceive it to be perpetual, and believe themselves immortal.

Passion, called extreme illusion, concerns the five objects of sense; sound, tact, colour, savour, and odour; reckoned to be twice as many, as different to man and to superior beings.

Envy, or hatred, denominated gloom, relates to the same ten objects of sense, and to eight-fold transcendent power, furnishing the means of their enjoyment.

Fear, named utter darkness, regards the same eighteen subjects, and consists in the dread of ill attendant on their loss by death or by deprivation of power.

Disability of intellect, which constitutes the second class, comprising twenty-eight species, arises from defect or injury of organs, which are eleven: and to these eleven sorts are added the contraries of the two next classes, containing, the one nine, and the other eight species, making a total of twenty-eight. Deafness, blindness, deprivation of taste, want of smell, numbedness, dumbness, handlessness, lameness, costiveness, impotence, and madness, are disabilities preventing performance of functions.

Content, or acquiescence, which forms the third class, is either internal or external: the one four-fold, the other five-fold; viz. *internal*, 1st, concerning nature; as, an opinion that a discriminative knowledge of nature is a modification of that principle itself, with a consequent expectation of deliverance by the act of nature. 2d, Concerning the proximate cause; as a belief that ascetic observances suffice to ensure liberation. 3d, Concerning time; as a fancy that deliverance will come in course, without study. 4th, Concerning luck; as a supposition that its attainment depends on destiny. *External* acquiescence relates to abstinence from enjoyment upon temporal motives: namely, 1st, aversion from the trouble of acquisition; or, 2d, from that of preservation; and, 3d, reluctance to incur loss consequent on use; or, 4th, evil attending on fruition; or, 5th, offence of hurting objects by the enjoyment of them.

The perfecting of the intellect is the fourth class, and comprises eight species. Perfection consists in the prevention of evil; and this being three-

fold, its prevention is so likewise: as is the consequent perfection of the understanding. This is direct. The remaining five species are indirect, *viz.* reasoning; oral instruction; study; amicable intercourse; and purity, internal and external (or, according to another interpretation, liberality). They are means of arriving at perfection.

The *Sánc'hya,* as other Indian systems of philosophy, is much engaged with the consideration of what is termed the three qualities (*guńa*): if indeed quality be here the proper import of the term; for the scholiast of Capila understands it as meaning, not quality or accident, but substance, a modification of nature, fettering the soul; conformably with another acceptation of *guńa,* signifying a cord.*

The first, and highest is goodness (*sattwa*). It is alleviating, enlightening, attended with pleasure and happiness: and virtue predominates in it. In fire it is prevalent; wherefore flame ascends, and sparks fly upwards. In man, when it abounds, as it does in beings of a superior order, it is the cause of virtue.

The second and middlemost is foulness or passion (*rajas* or *téjas*). It is active, urgent and variable; attended with evil and misery. In air it predominates: wherefore wind moves transversely. In living beings it is the cause of vice.

The third and lowest is darkness (*tamas*). It is heavy and obstructive: attended with sorrow, dulness, and illusion. In earth and water it predominates, wherefore they fall or tend downwards. In living beings it is the cause of stolidity.

These three qualities are not mere accidents of nature, but are of its essence, and enter into its composition. "We speak of the qualities of nature, as we do of the trees of a forest," say the *Sánc'hyas.*† In the *Védas* they are pronounced to be successive modifications, one of the other: "All was darkness: commanded to change, darkness took the taint of foulness: and this, again commanded, assumed the form of goodness."

They co-operate for a purpose, by union of opposites: as a lamp, which is composed of oil, a wick, and flame,‡ substances inimical and contrary.

Taking the three qualities by which nature is modified, for principles or categories, the number, before enumerated, is raised to twenty-eight; as is by some authorities maintained.§

* *Vijnyán.* on *Cap.* 1. 60. † *Sánc'hya-sára.* ‡ *Cár.* 13.

§ *Vijnyána bhicshu* in *Sánc'hya-sára* and *Capila-bháshya.*

To the intellect appertain eight modes, effects, or properties: four partaking of goodness; namely, virtue, knowledge, dispassion, and power; and four, which are the reverse of those, and partake of darkness, *viz.* sin, error, incontinency, and powerlessness.

Virtue here intends moral or religious merit. Knowledge is either exterior or interior; that is, temporal or spiritual. Interior or spiritual knowledge discriminates soul from nature, and operates its deliverance from evil. Exterior or temporal knowledge comprehends holy writ, and every science, but self-knowledge.

Dispassion likewise is either exterior or interior, as proceeding from a temporal motive, aversion from trouble; or a spiritual impulse, the conviction that nature is a dream, a mere juggle and illusion.

Power is eight-fold: consisting in the faculty of shrinking into a minute form, to which every thing is pervious; or enlarging to a gigantic body; or assuming levity (rising along a sunbeam to the solar orb); or possessing unlimited reach of organs (as touching the moon with the tip of a finger); or irresistible will (for instance, sinking into the earth, as easily as in water): dominion over all beings animate or inanimate; faculty of changing the course of nature; ability to accomplish every thing desired.

The notion, that such transcendent power is attainable by man in this life, is not peculiar to the *Sánc'hya* sect. It is generally prevalent among the Hindus; and amounts to a belief of magic. A *Yógí,* imagined to have acquired such faculties, is, to vulgar apprehension, a sorcerer, and is so represented in many a drama and popular tale.

One of the four chapters of Patanjali's *Yóga-sástra* (the third), relates almost exclusively to this subject, from which it takes its title. It is full of directions for bodily and mental exercises, consisting of intensely profound meditation on special topics, accompanied by suppression of breath, and restraint of the senses, while steadily maintaining prescribed postures. By such exercises, the adept acquires the knowledge of every thing past and future, remote or hidden; he divines the thoughts of others, gains the strength of an elephant, the courage of a lion, and the swiftness of the wind; flies in the air, floats in water, dives into the earth, contemplates all worlds at one glance, and performs other strange feats.

But neither power, however transcendent, nor dispassion, nor virtue, however meritorious, suffices for the attainment of beatitude. It serves but to prepare the soul for that absorbed contemplation, by which the great purpose of deliverance is to be accomplished.

The promptest mode of attaining beatitude, through absorbed contemplation, is devotion to God; consisting in repeated muttering of his mystical name, the syllable *om*, at the same time meditating its signification. It is this which constitutes efficacious devotion, whereby the deity, propitiated, confers on the votary the boon that is sought; precluding all impediments; and effecting the attainment of an inward sentiment, that prepares the soul for liberation.

"God, Íśwara, the supreme ruler," according to Patanjali,* "is a soul or spirit, distinct from other souls; unaffected by the ills with which they are beset; unconcerned with good or bad deeds and their consequences, and with fancies or passing thoughts. In him is the utmost omniscience. He is the instructor of the earliest beings that have a beginning, (the deities of mythology); himself infinite, unlimited by time."

Capila, on the other hand, denies an Íśwara, ruler of the world by volition: alleging that there is no proof of God's existence, unperceived by the senses, not inferred from reasoning, nor yet revealed.† He acknowledges indeed a being issuing from nature, who is intelligence absolute; source of all individual intelligences; and origin of other existences successively evolved and developed. He expressly affirms "that the truth of such an Íśwara is demonstrated:"‡ the creator of worlds, in such sense of creation: for "the existence of effects," he says, "is dependent upon consciousness, not upon Íśwara;" and "all else is from the great principle, intellect."§ Yet that being is finite; having a beginning and an end; dating from the grand development of the universe, to terminate with the consummation of all things. But an infinite being, creator and guide of the universe by volition, Capila positively disavows.‖ "Detached from nature, unaffected therefore by consciousness, and the rest of nature's trammels, he could have no inducement to creation; fettered by nature, he could not be capable of creation. Guidance requires proximity, as the iron is attracted by the magnet; and in like manner, it is by proximity that living souls govern individual bodies, enlightened by animation as hot iron is by heat."

Passages of admitted authority, in which God is named, relate, according to Capila and his followers, either to a liberated soul, or to a mythological

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* *Yóga sástra* 1. 23—24 and 26—29.

† *Cap.* 1. 91—98; 3. 52—55; 5. 2—12; and 6. 64—78.

‡ *Cap.* 3. 55. § *Cap.* 6. 65 and 66. ‖ *Cap.* 1.

deity, or that superior not supreme being whom mythology places in the midst of the mundane egg.

Such is the essential and characteristic difference of Capila's and Patanjali's, the atheistical and deistical, *Sánc'hyas.*

In less momentous matters they differ, not upon points of doctrine, but in the degree, in which the exterior exercises, or abstruse reasoning and study, are weighed upon, as requisite preparations of absorbed contemplation. Patanjali's *Yóga-sástra* is occupied with devotional exercise and mental abstraction, subduing body and mind. Capila is more engaged with investigation of principles and reasoning upon them. One is more mystic and fanatical. The other makes a nearer approach to philosophical disquisition, however mistaken in its conclusions.

The manner, in which a knowledge of those principles or categories that are recognised by the *Sánc'hyas,* may be acquired, is set forth in the *Cáricá*: "Sensible objects become known by perception. It is by inference or reasoning, that acquaintance with things transcending the senses is attained. And a truth, which is neither to be directly perceived nor to be inferred by reasoning, is deduced from revelation. For various causes, things may be imperceptible or unperceived; distance, nearness, minuteness; confusion, concealment; predominance of other matters; defect of organs or inattention. It is owing to the subtlety of nature, not to the non-existence of this original principle, that it is not apprehended by the senses, but inferred from its effects. Intellect and the rest of the derivative principles are effects; whence it is concluded as their cause; in some respects analogous, but in others dissimilar.*"

"Effect subsists antecedently to the operation of cause:" a maxim not unlike that ancient one that "nothing comes of nothing," for it is the material, not the efficient, cause, which is here spoken of.

The reasons alleged by the *Sánc'hyas*† are, that "what exists not, can by no operation of a cause be brought into existence:" that is, effects are educts, rather than products. Oil is in the seed of sesamum, before it is expressed; rice is in the husk before it is peeled; milk is in the udder before it is drawn. "Materials, too, are selected, which are apt for the purpose:" milk, not water, is taken to make curds. "Every thing is not by every means possible:" cloth, not earthen ware, may be made with yarn. "What

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* *Cár.* 6, 8. † *Cár.* 9.

is capable, does that, to which it is competent:" a potter does not weave cloth, but makes a jar, from a lump of clay, with a wheel and other implements. "The nature of cause and effect is the same:" a piece of cloth does not essentially differ from the yarn of which it is wove; as an ox does from a horse: barley, not rice or peas, grows out of barley-corns.

"There is a general cause, which is undistinguishable."* This position is supported by divers arguments. "Specific objects are finite;" they are multitudinous and not universal: there must then be a single all-pervading cause. Another argument is drawn from affinity: "homogeneousness indicates a cause." An earthen jar implies a lump of clay of which it is made: a golden coronet presumes a mass of gold of which it was fabricated: seeing a rigidly abstemious novice, it is readily concluded, says the scholiast, that his parents are of the sacerdotal tribe. There must then be a cause bearing affinity to effects which are seen. Another reason is "existence of effects through energy:" there must be a cause adequate to the effects. A potter is capable of fabricating pottery: he makes a pot, not a car, nor a piece of cloth. The main argument of the *Sánc'hyas* on this point is "the parting or issuing of effects from cause, and the re-union of the universe." A type of this is the tortoise, which puts forth its limbs, and again retracts them within its shell. So at the general destruction, or consummation of all things, taking place at an appointed period, the five elements, earth, water, fire, air, and ether, constituting the three worlds, are withdrawn in the inverse order of that in which they proceeded from the primary principles, returning step by step to their first cause, the *chief* and undistinguishable one, which is nature.

It operates by means of the three qualities of goodness, foulness, and darkness. It does so by mixture; as the confluence of three streams forms one river; for example, the Ganges: or as threads interwoven constitute a piece of cloth: and as a picture is a result of the union of pigments. It operates "by modification" too: as water, dropped from a cloud, absorbed by the roots of plants, and carried into the fruit, acquires special flavour, so are different objects diversified by the influence of the several qualities respectively. Thus, from one *chief* cause, which is nature, spring three dissimilar worlds, observes the scholiast, peopled by gods enjoying bliss; by men suffering pain; by inferior animals affected with dullness. It is owing to

* *Cár.* 15. 16.

prevalence of particular qualities. In the gods, goodness prevails, and foulness and darkness are foreign: and therefore are the gods supremely happy. In man, foulness is prevalent; and goodness and darkness are strangers: wherefore man is eminently wretched. In animals, darkness predominates; and goodness and foulness are wanting: and therefore are animals extremely dull.

The existence of soul is demonstrated by several arguments:* "The assemblage of sensible objects is for another's use;" as a bed is for a sleeper, a chair for a sitter: that other, who uses it, must be a sensitive being; and the sensitive being is soul. The converse of sensible objects endued with the three qualities, goodness, foulness, and darkness, indiscriminate, common, inanimate, and prolific, must exist, devoid of qualities, discriminate, and so forth: and that is soul. "There must be superintendence;" as there is a charioteer to a car: the superintendent of inanimate matter is soul. "There must be one to enjoy" what is formed for enjoyment: a spectator, a witness of it: that spectator is soul. "There is a tendency to abstraction:" the wise and unwise alike desire a termination of vicissitude: holy writ and mighty sages tend to that consummation; the final and absolute extinction of every sort of pain: there must then be a being capable of abstraction, essentially unconnected with pleasure, pain, and illusion: and that being is soul.

There is not one soul to all bodies, as a string on which pearls are strung: but a separate soul for each particular body. "Multitude of souls" is proved by the following arguments.† "Birth, death, and the instruments of life are allotted severally:" if one soul animated all bodies, one being born, all would be born; one dying, all would die; one being blind, or deaf, or dumb, all would be blind, or deaf, or dumb; one seeing, all would see; one hearing, all would hear; one speaking, all would speak. Birth is the union of soul with instruments, namely intellect, consciousness, mind and corporeal organs; it is not a modification of soul, for soul is unalterable. Death is its abandonment of them; not an extinction of it; for it is unperishable. Soul then is multitudinous. "Occupations are not at one time universally the same:" if one soul animated all beings, then all bodies would be stirred by the same influence, but it is not so: some are engaged in virtue; others occupied with vice; some restraining passions; others yielding

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* *Cár.* 17. † *Cár.* 18.

to them; some involved in error; others seeking knowledge. Souls therefore are numerous. "Qualities affect differently:" one is happy; another miserable; and again, another stupid, The gods are ever happy; man, unhappy; inferior animals, dull. Were there but one soul, all would be alike.

The attributes of the several principles, material and immaterial, discrete and undiscrete, perceptible and imperceptible, are compared and contrasted. "A discrete principle," is is affirmed by the *Sánc'hyas,** "is causable:" it is uneternal "inconstant," one while apparent, at another time evanescent: it is "unpervading," not entering into all; for effect is possessed with its cause, not cause with its effect: it is acted upon, and "mutable," changing from one body to another: it is "multitudinous;" for there are so many minds, intellects, &c., as there are souls animating bodies: it is "supported," resting upon its cause: it is involvable, "merging" one into another, and implying one, the other: it is "conjunct," consisting of parts or qualities, as sound, taste, smell, &c.: it is "governed," or dependent on another's will.

"The undiscrete principle" is in all these respects the reverse: it is causeless; eternal; all pervading, immutable, or unacted upon; single, as being the one cause of three orders of beings; unsupported (relying but on itself); uninvolvable (not merging, not implying); unconjunct, consisting of no parts; self-ruled.

Discrete principles, as well as the undiscrete one, have the three qualities of goodness, foulness, and darkness: the one (nature) having them in its own right, as its form or properties; the rest, because they are its effects: as black yarn makes black cloth. They are undiscriminating, or "indiscriminate;" not distinguishing quality from quality, and confounding nature with qualities: for nature is not distinct from itself; nor are qualities separate from it. They are "objects" of apprehension and enjoyment for every soul, external to discriminative knowledge, but subjects of it. They are "common" like an utensil, or like a harlot. They are "irrational" or unsentient; unaware of pain or pleasure: from an insensible lump of clay comes an insensible earthen pot. They are "prolific;" one producing or generating another: nature producing intellect, and intellect generating consciousness, and so forth.

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* *Cár.* 10, 11.

Soul on the contrary is devoid of qualities; it is discriminative; it is no object of enjoyment; it is several or peculiar; it is sensitive, aware of pain and pleasure; unprolific, for nothing is generated by it.

In these respects it differs from all the other principles: on certain points it conforms with the undiscrete principle, and differs from the discrete: in one regard it agrees with these and disagrees with the other: for it is not single, but on the contrary multitudinous; and it is causeless, eternal, pervading, immutable, unsupported, unmerging or unimplying, unconjunct (consisting of no parts), self-governed.

The attributes of the perceptible, discrete principles and of the undiscrete, indefinite one, are considered to be proved* by the influence of the three qualities in one instance, and their absence in the converse; and by conformity of cause and effect: an argument much and frequently relied upon. It concerns the material, not the efficient, cause.

From the contrast between soul and the other principles, it follows, as the *Cáricá*† affirms, that "soul is witness, bystander, spectator, solitary and passive. Therefore, by reason of union with it, insensible body seems sensible: and, though the qualities be active, the stranger (soul) appears as the agent."

"Though inanimate, nature performs the office of preparing the soul for its deliverance, in like manner as it is a function of milk, an unintelligent substance, to nourish the calf."‡

Nature is likened to a female dancer, exhibiting herself to soul, as to an audience, and is reproached with shamelessness for repeatedly exposing herself to the rude gaze of the spectator. "She desists, however, when she has sufficiently shown herself. She does so, because she has been seen; he desists, because he has seen her. There is no further use for the world: yet the connexion of soul and nature still subsists."§

By attainment of spiritual knowledge, through the study of principles, the conclusive, incontrovertible, single truth is learned, so the *Cáricá* declares ‖ that "neither I AM, nor is aught MINE, nor I exist."

"All, which passes in consciousness, in intellect, is reflected by the soul, as an image which sullies not the crystal, but appertains not to it. Possessed of this self-knowledge, soul contemplates at ease nature thereby debarred

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* *Cár.* 14. † *Cár.* 19, 20. ‡ *Cár.* 75. § *Car.* 59, 61, 66. ‖ *Cár.* 64.

from prolific change and precluded therefore from every other form and effect of intellect, but that spiritual saving knowledge."*

"Yet soul remains awhile invested with body; as the potter's wheel continues whirling, after the pot has been fashioned, by force of the impulse previously given to it. When separation of the informed soul from its corporeal frame at length takes place, and nature in respect of it ceases, then is absolute and final deliverance accomplished."†

"Thus," concludes the *Cáricá*, "this abstruse knowledge, adapted to the liberation of soul, wherein the origin, duration, and termination of beings are considered, has been thoroughly expounded by the mighty saint. The sage compassionately taught it to Asuri, who communicated it Panchaśic'ha; and by him it was promulgated to mankind."‡

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* *Cár.* 65. † *Cár.* 67, 68. ‡ *Cár.* 69, 70.

III. *Singular Proclamation, issued by the Foo-yuen, or Sub-Viceroy, of Canton, December 28, 1822. Translated from the Chinese by the Rev. Dr. Morrison. Communicated by Sir George Thomas Staunton, Bart.*

Read June 7, 1823.

Ching, the Foo-yuen, has issued a very long proclamation, exhorting the people, under his government, to industry, and to the practice of all the social virtues. He states his object in eight words: it is, he says, to

"Encourage Industry,
Establish Education,
Praise Virtue, and
Repress Vice."

The effect of which "he hopes will be tranquillity amongst the poor, and the prevalence of good manners and customs."

"Ancient rulers (says the Foo-yuen), thought that, if one man was unreclaimed, it must be some fault in the Ruler." "I commenced life (adds he) as a *Che-heen* magistrate, and in Canton province I served twenty years. I was removed to Shantung and to Honan; and now I am placed here in the situation of Foo-yuen, bearing also the office of Censor-general, General Adviser of His Imperial Majesty, and a Captain empowered to call forth the army of Canton. Music and women; goods and gains; revelry and avarice have no charms for me. My only, constant, unremitted, heedful, anxious desire (which I dare not decline to cherish) is, that I may look on national affairs, as if they were my domestic affairs, and the affairs of the poor people, as if they were my own personal affairs.

"Having had to give thanks to the Wise and Holy One, for appointing me to be the soother of the people, I am well aware that, in all the districts under my government, robberies and thefts prevail, and burn; litigations and imprisonments abound, and multiply. Polite decorum and instruction do not flourish; and the public manners are not substantially good. Without an increased and great effort to correct what is wrong, I shall be unable to console the people; and shall have no hope of rendering a recompense for the favour of my country.

"Beside diligent attention to actual cases that come before me, and constant deliberation for the public good, I deem it now right, on first

ighting from my carriage amongst you, to draw out a list of the importan ings I would have attended to; and publish them by way of proclama on, commanding all the government officers, clerks, country gentlemen ldiers, and poor people, as one body, to yield implicit obedience thereto ppose not! A special (Edict, or) Proclamation."

First Topic.

Encourage the Means of promising Good.

5 Sections.

1. A supply of water is fundamental to the existence of the people. I griculture, water to irrigate the fields is, to the husbandman, as the arterie nd veins to the life-giving fluid. Canton is near to hills and mountains nd the land is dry; so that ten days want of rain raises the complaint o rought. (The Foo-yuen then states what efforts he employed, when h as a magistrate at Nan-heung district, to promote a supply of water).

2. Plant trees: of all nature's gifts there is none more important, tha he growth of trees, which neither require to be clothed with your gar ents, nor to eat your rice.

3. Breed domestic animals.

4. Encourage charity and compassion: nature cannot equalise benefit nd give a complete competence to all, but relies on those, who have th bility to compassionate the poor; and they shall be abundantly rewarde n their children and grand-children.

5. Honor economy: Canton is a luxurious extravagant province; an f all the districts, *Kwang-chow* and *Chaou-chow* are the most so. The vic egins with the retired literati, and passes to the country gentlemen; fro hem to the rich merchants; and down to the common people, and pett riters and lictors. They desire to have gay shining dwellings; the ives and children adorned with gold and jewels; their food and drink fro he seas, and the mountains; their garments to be silks and crapes; the ncestors' halls must, in violation of their proper sphere, have vermillio eams, and doors and pillars—forgetting that Heaven's curse will come o hose who affect an enjoyment which does not belong to their place hereas, in the affluent, charity to the poor, and rescuing the distresse ring a blessing on posterity for hundreds of years. Besides, the Empero ho is supreme, and whose riches embrace all the world, encompassed b he four seas, himself sets you an example, &c.

Second Topic.

Establish Instruction.

9 Sections.

1. Teach filial piety, and fidelity: Nature gives to all, whether scholars, farmers, mechanics, or merchants, a connatural sense of the four virtues, expressed by four words:

Filial, Fraternal (duties),
Faithfulness, Truth, &c. &c.

2. Cultivate talent; and schools are the places to foster talent. I hold public schools to be of the first importance. Why so slow in assisting, where aid is required!—I will subscribe my salary to assist poor districts to establish public schools; and let the Foo districts subscribe 200 taels, and the Chih-le-Chow districts 150 taels, and the Keen districts 100 taels, and all the local officers according to their ability; and let them take the lead, and induce the country gentlemen to come forward, and manage the concerns, &c.

3. Respect the aged.

4. The gentry are the hope of the poor people: let them instruct them, and guide them, &c.

5. Let the rich, who derived their wealth from their ancestors, assist their poor kindred, &c.

6. Let the poor remember, that poverty or riches are according to the decree of Heaven, and let them be content, &c.

7. Let merchants and traders deal fairly and honestly, &c.

8. Instruct mothers to teach their children. Early instructions are second nature.

9. Since women do not learn to read, let fathers and husbands instruct their wives and daughters, on whom the rise, or ruin, of the family depends. The duties of women are chiefly these: to be dutiful to their husbands' parents, to respect their husbands; to agree with their sisters; to teach their children; to be diligent in weaving and spinning; to prepare repasts of wine and food: these are all. When principles of virtue are established, they will be good wives and mothers, and chaste, and an honour to their family; but if they are indulged, and left uninstructed, they will, one day, become lewd; their virtue be ruined, and their parents be disgraced.

Third Topic.

Address to Magistrates.

7 Sections.

1. Laud and soothe the virtuous distressed, as virgins; those who suffer death rather than a violation of chastity (or martyrs to chastity); unmarried daughters, eminently dutiful to parents; chaste wives; martyrs to a chaste widowhood; wives eminently dutiful to parents: for these persons request imperial honorary banners, &c.
2. Honour filial duty.
3. Respect the aged.
4. Hold up to view the eminently virtuous.
5. Illustrate the good and charitable.
6. Praise, and encourage to correct and benevolent conduct, village elders, and city constables.
7. Give honorary banners to families, that excel in domestic virtues.

Fourth Topic.

7 Sections.

1. Prohibit gaming.
2. Interdict suicide, or making light of one's life. It is the detestable custom of Canton Province, on every slight occasion, for a slight resentment, to commit suicide. And the relatives of the self-murderer view the dead body, as a piece of goods of extraordinary value. They contrive to allege that the deceased committed suicide, in consequence of ill-usage from some rich neighbour, who, to avoid litigation, gives them a sum of money; or, if he refuses, they combine with the police, and commence a prosecution, &c.

When I was at Nan-keung district, in the office of magistrate, five or six suicides occurred every month, &c.

3. Canton abounding in hills and rivers, it abounds in thefts and robberies, both by individuals, and associated bodies of men—let these be acted against, &c.
4. Vagabond attornies excite litigations, increase and protract them, in numbers infinite, and to periods interminable. The innocent are accused, and the utterly wrong become accusers; they find avaricious and cruel magistrates, and fraudulent police extortioners. Disputes about marriages and lands, are viewed by magistrates as petty affairs, and are given to the

management of underlings (and by various forms of legal fraud and oppression, families are ruined, and lives lost), &c. &c.

5. Put down the vicious, who rebel against the higher social relations, and offend against parents, senior brothers, &c.

6. Seize on bandits, who belong to brotherhoods, or to clubs and societies, and who swear attachment to each other.

7. Seize sharpers and vagabonds, who make themselves the terror of the neighbourhood, and who carry weapons about them, and try to get into quarrels, and insult the desolate, and injure the feeble, &c.

If these, my instructions, be but roughly regarded, tranquillity will prevail amongst the people; if they are nicely regarded, a complete renovation of the public manners will be the result.

I desire that all my officers, gentry, and common people will not consider this as vague loose moralizing; nor view this document as a paper issued for form's sake; but in deed and in truth respectfully receive it, and act upon it, and the good effects will long be felt, and my hopes will appear to have been substantial, and well founded.

Taou Kwang.

2d Year, 11th Month, 8th Day.
(December 28th 1822.)

IV. *On the Pūrik Sheep of Ladakh; and some other Animals, principally of the Sheep and Goat kind: with general Observations on the Country of Ladakh, &c. By William Moorcroft, Esq., in a Letter to John Fleming, Esq. M. R. A. S, dated Lek, Capital of Sarrak, April 25, 1822. Communicated by Mr. Fleming.*

Read June 21, 1823.

In Calcutta, you desired that I would procure, and send to you, some Sheep of the Isle of Ormus, should it be in my power; which, however, it has not been. This circumstance impressed me with an idea of your conceiving the introduction of that animal into Great Britain, likely to prove beneficial to her agricultural and manufacturing concerns; and, by a natural inference, leads to a belief, that a communication respecting the domestic animals of a country, new to Europeans, may not be wholly without interest.

A cursory view of the striking difference in the tails of Asiatic Sheep suggests the notion, that this might furnish a character, distinguishing the races of this animal more correctly, than those which have been set up for this purpose; and Nature has adopted varieties in the proportion of this part, of which some both surprise and perplex the mind, in endeavouring to assign the cause of the difference. But this variation in the sheep is not more extraordinary than that existing in the Mouse genus, some varieties of which are here furnished with tails of a length, which would seem preposterous and inconvenient; whilst others are wholly destitute of this appendage.

The novelties, which have already met my view in Natural History, are so great, as to invite the introduction of details that would swell a letter to a volume, and divert me from its practical objects. A breed of sheep of *Ladakh*, (which ought, perhaps, to have precedence in mention,) when at full growth, has scarcely acquired the size of a South Down lamb, of five or six months: yet, in the fineness and weight of its fleece,* and in the

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* A sample of the wool was communicated by Mr. Moorcroft in the letter to Mr. Fleming, who has presented it to the Royal Asiatic Society, in whose Museum it is deposited. It is of a white colour. *Secretary.*

flavour of its mutton, added to its peculiarities of feeding and constitution, yields not in merit to any race hitherto discovered. Perhaps the dog of the British cottager is not so completely domiciliated, as is the *Pūrik* sheep of this country. In the night, it finds shelter either in a walled yard, or under the roof of its master; and frequently, in the day, picks up its food on a surface of granite rock, where the eye of the cursory enquirer can scarcely discover a speck of vegetation, though closer investigation shews stunted tufts of wormwood, hyssop, bugloss, and here and there a few blades of a dwarfed grass. But the indefatigable industry of this animal detects, and appropriates, substances so minute and uninviting, as would be unseen, or be neglected, by ordinary sheep, or those of larger breeds, even in this country. Almost all the land,* round this capital, is under tillage for wheat and barley, and in lucerne; but the harvest will not have been two months off the ground, and a single blade of vegetable substance shall not be discovered; not a stem of stubble, nor a crown of lucerne. The stubble is bitten off by the common cow, the *Tho* (a hybrid, between the *Yak* male and the cow), and the shawl-goats; whilst the ass not only devours the stock of the lucerne; but, by pawing, lays bare the tap-root, of the upper part of which he, generally, gets about three or four inches.

The *Pūrik* sheep, if permitted, thrusts its head into the cooking-pot, picks up crumbs, is eager to drink the remains of a cup of salted and buttered tea, or broth, and examines the hand of its master for *lattro* (barley flour), or for a cleanly picked bone, which it disdains not to nibble. A leaf of lettuce, a peeling of a turnip, the skin of an apricot, give a luxury. The coarse black tea of China forms the basis of the nourishment of the natives of this misgoverned country; and its use is conducted with the utmost frugality. Rubbed to a powder, and tied in a cloth, it undergoes the ceremony of frequent boilings: and when it has given out the whole of its colouring matter, a process rather tedious (from the Chinese steeping the full-grown leaves in a vat, with infusion of *Kat'h*, Ext. Cat.), the residuum falls to the share of the sheep.

* The salt plains of the valley, in which runs the *Sinha-kā-bal*, or "River, proceeding from the Lion's Mouth." But these, partly left in natural herbage, contain swamps, abounding, in the autumn, with the *Fasciola Hepatica*; which, getting into the gall-ducts, kills the sheep, in winter, that have pastured upon it.

I have been minutely tedious upon their acquired habits of feeding, a troductory to the conclusion, that there exists not a cottager in Britain ceiving no parochial relief, who might not keep three of these sheep, wit ore ease, than he now supports a cur dog; nor a little farmer, who migh t maintain a flock of fifteen, or twenty, without appropriating half an acre clusively, to their use. They would derive support from that produce hich now either wholly runs to waste, or goes to the dunghill in a raw profitable state; whereas, by giving sustenance to the sheep, it would b imalized, and improved as manure.

This point is so well understood here, that sheep are bought in som rts of *Ladakh*, from grazing countries, in which there is no tillage erely for their dung, &c. during winter. They are placed in small yards which the floor is bespread with a coating of soil, such as it is, and ar d with lucerne hay, given with such regard to quantity, that within tw three hours not a stem, nor a leaf, remains; and this is repeated in suc way, as to prevent the smallest possible waste. So soon as the stratur sufficiently saturated with urine and dung, it is carried off, and a fres oating is given.

To return to the *Pūrik* sheep; it gives two lambs within twelve months nd is twice shorn within that period. The clip may afford, safely say aree pounds in the annual aggregate, and the first yield is fine enough fo lerably good shawls. The sheep of the cottager in Britain would liv xuriously, in the day, on the stripes of grass carpet, which border th oads, and by keeping clean hedge bottoms. When a boy, I have accom anied Mr. Bakewell over his farm, and listened with pleasure to his de ils of the frugality of his management; nor have I been less gratifie ith the prudent economy of the Flemish peasant. But Britain and Fla ers are countries, to which nature has been prodigal of vegetable produc ons; and what seems prudent husbanding there, would here be accounte ne most lavish waste. The British farmer pays for the weeding of hi rops. The *Ladakh* feeder of cattle weeds the crops of the farmer fo othing, and supports his cows and goats on weeded grass, common ma w, chenopodium, &c. without other expense, than that of the labour omen and children, whilst the animals remain in the house, and yield hi uel for the cold season by their dried excrement; and the milk gives butte r tea, butter-milk, sour curd, and *kúrút*.

I have seen more luxuriant crops of wheat and of barley, but never crop

more regular, nor so clean as those of this country. The *Ladakh* farmer begins to work upon a soil consisting of the disintegrated materials of the granite rock: out of which, speaking of the upland terraces, the felspar, reduced to powder, in the process of decomposition, is carried by snow-water to the flat surface, bordering the banks of rivers, where it stands in beds of the finest porcelain clay. This, naturally most unproductive material, he so manages, as to cause it to yield, year after year, in unvaried succession, excellent crops of wheat and of barley, without failure, without alternation, without degeneracy! Agriculture has much to regret, that such an observer, as my friend Mr. Marshall, was not the first Briton to witness these practices, instead of an individual, whose thoughts have comparatively been little directed to rural affairs.

Few people know the full value of the saying, that "necessity is the mother of invention." In respect to some of the first necessaries of life, in this country, the adage is most strikingly illustrated; but in others a neglect prevails, with difficulty reconcileable to common sense. For instance, the rivers abound with several varieties of large trout, easily taken. Food for man is dear. Polyandry is the general custom. Nearly two-thirds of the productive lands are appropriated to the support of an unproductive priesthood; yet fish are not pressed into the service of the table. Wood-fuel is scarce and dear, yet little or none is cultivated, expressly for this purpose, though the *Thuja* grows freely on some bordering mountains; the black and Lombardy poplar on stony steppes; all the varieties of willow and tamarisk, on the banks of streams; and the *Lonicera Tartarica*, dog-rose, gooseberry and currant-bush, near the base of lower rocks. The springy bog-beds, frequent at the foot of some ranges, would yield osiers in abundance, but not one is planted.

This is not the most extraordinary feature in the conduct of this extraordinary people. That, which would give all necessaries, comforts, elegancies, and superfluities, exists in profusion, neglected, and uncollected, in the midst of a nation more miserably sordid and avaricious (I speak of the rulers), than any I have visited. Were I to credit the accounts of some reporters, in respect to some districts in this vicinity, I should consider the country as another *El Dorado*; but I know that the beds of the *Sinké*, the *Singté*, and of the *Shajúk* rivers, abound with gold, in oblong grains, and laminæ, detached from their matrix, and bruised, broken and flattened, in their journey down their stony channels. The governors of

Ladakh, sensual and luxurious, in their way, yet experiencing privations which they know to be such, forbid the collecting of gold in their rivers, lest their harvests of grain should be injured. It would be difficult for a logician to discover a connexion between this cause, and its effect. It is to be found in superstition, and policy, each equally absurd.

I have procured some of the sheep alluded to, and mean to increase the parent stock to two hundred, leaving them under the care of a respectable Lama, (my pupil in surgery,) for two years; at the end of which period, my journey will have been completed. Should I fall, an event by no means improbable, the Government will receive them as a legacy, without expense, under the hope that some of the individuals will be sent to Britain, and in the sure expectation that the progeny will be distributed to cottagers and small farmers, in poor and dry counties. I leave to you to estimate the national advantages, derivable from two or three millions of extra animals, supported upon produce now really waste; provided their present frugal habits of feeding be maintained, and their constitutions be not injured by delicate treatment.

The British flock-master would be delighted with the fineness of the bone of the sheep of these countries, with the spread of the carcase, the hardiness of their constitution, and their aptness to fatten; but he would object to the rounded nose, and to the stickel hairs, that debase the fleeces of some of the numerous varieties of breed, in these regions. You have seen the flat-tailed sheep of Persia and of Arabia, and so have I, with appendages respectable enough; but prudence causes me to suppress the size and weight of the tails, of some of the fat-tailed sheep of the Calmucks and Kosaks. Such of their fleeces, as have come under my inspection, are little fit for any other than common cloths; and for these are scarcely desirable: but the elastic wiriness, and the glittering lustre of the fibre, retained even when dyed, render them particularly valuable for carpets. *Yar-kund* is under the greatest disadvantage for dyeing drugs; but, being well placed for the principal material, manufactures carpeting of great beauty, for the China market.

You will recollect the name of a peculiar kind of shawl, called *Asil*, or *Aśli Tūs*, of a brownish colour, and must have seen cloth and blankets, in which deer-like hairs are worked up with a remarkably fine wool, in *Cáshmír*. Since the reign of Mahmúd Shah, scarcely a single shawl has been made entirely of this kind of wool, for sale, and very few even to order, on

account of the expense; and those, so named, have been got up of shawl-wool dyed, and mixed with a small portion of the real *Tūs*. I have procured about a maund, which, when picked, will be reduced to less than half that quantity: this I purpose to forward by the first opportunity, to be tried for gloves and stockings. Neither the domesticated shawl-goat, nor the Vígogna *(Ovis Peruana Vecunna)* furnish a wool so full and rich to the feel; nor has so fine a material ever yet graced a British loom.* The animal, which yields it, is one of the almost innumerable varieties of the wild goat which frequent the mountains of this country, but more especially those of *Changthang*, and *Khoten*. Its price is very high, as the goat has not yet been tamed; but, from an experiment made under my view, it is obvious that it is just as domesticable, as that which bears the common shawl-wool; and as soon as I shall have returned from my journey, arrangements, for accomplishing this object, will be put in force. This, as well as the shawl-goat, may, with advantage to the peasantry, be transferred to a portion of the Himalaya, now unproductive; but I much doubt, whether it be worth while, from the scanty yield of wool, on each carcase, to raise the breed on the poorest surface in Britain. I did not think thus, when I first obtained the shawl-goat; but at that time, the Company possessed not its present extensive territories in the Himalaya, and their attendant facilities. France has, I learn from a correspondent in that country, obtained a flock from some of the steppes near the Caspian, which must be inferior to those of Tibet, as lately *A'ghá Aabdí* was employed by Russia itself, to procure the breed from the border of Chinese Turkistan. The latter gives wool by no means so fine as that of the province of *Changthang*, which touches upon, or rather, is separated from the Honourable Company's Hill Provinces, by a tract of uninhabited border, only four days journey in breadth. Through the interest which I now possess in the Trans-Himalayan countries, I could procure thousands of the best breeds, within a few months.

In the eastern part of this principality, there is a nondescript wild variety of Horse, which I shall call *Equus Kiáng*, perhaps more nearly allied to the ass than to the horse, in some particulars, but differing from the Gūrkhar of

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* A specimen of this fine wool, which is of a brown colour, was transmitted by Mr. Moorcroft to Mr. Fleming, and presented by the latter to the Royal Asiatic Society, in whose Museum it is deposited. *Secretary.*

Sind; of which I obtained a female of great beauty. It is an animal, which, excepting its ears, resembles more an antelope, in the beauty of its eye, and the vivacity of its movements, than the sluggish animal with which it is classed; though unquestionably of the same family with the ass.

I bought above a hundred sheep and eight asses to carry provisions, for a party of sixteen persons, for two months, to proceed to *Skay júng*, with a view of shooting some *Kiangs*. I traversed a pass in which the snow reached to my horse's hips, lost one valuable servant by the cold, and reached the *Kiang* country, after eighteen days march, when I received an express, directing me to return immediately, to meet a deputation of persons from the Chinese authorities of Yarkund, arrived at Lek. As I was on horseback on my return, within an hour after the receipt of the advice, I gained no other advantage by the journey than an opportunity of making out a part of the old commercial line, between *Nejíbábád* and *Khoten*, frequented in the reign of *Shah Jehan*, and closed by the Chinese, subsequently to their acquisition of the state of *Kashgár*, by the expulsion of the Musleman *Khaja*, whose heir, *Jehángír Khaja*, is now in attendance at the Court of *Omar Khan*, the sovereign of *Fingbara*. I ought to add, perhaps, as another result of my researches, the tracing of the line of the army of the *Sokpos*, or *Calmucks*, when they invaded *Ladakh*, in the reign of *Alemgír Aurengzeb*; and farther, some geographical facts, and the discovery of a nondescript variety of Grouse, and Partridge. Not more than a dozen *Kiangs* came within view, and all were out of shot. A native of that district was directed to lie in wait, and a suitable remuneration was offered for the skin, head, and organs of voice, for dissection. The man has completed his task, and I shall have these matters, as soon as the pass of *Changlung* will admit of being traversed. The *Kiang* appeared to me to be about fourteen hands high, of a round muscular form, with remarkably clean limbs. I would have given my reasons for thinking its domestication, for the use of the small farmer, and of the poor in Britain, desirable; but the recital would lead to too much of detail at present.

V. *Memoir on* Sirmór. *By the late Captain* George Rodney Blane, *Engineers, Bengal. Communicated by Sir* Gilbert Blane, *Bart.*

Read December 6, 1823.

Boundaries and Divisions of Sirmór.

Sirmór is bounded, on the north by *Bisér*, from which it is divided by the river *Páber*; on the west by *Hindūr* and the *Barah Tukrái*, or twelve districts; on the south by the *Sikh* possessions; and on the east by *Gerhwál*, and the river *Jumna*. It is divided into *Pergunahs*, and each *Pergunah* into *Pattis*. The head of a *Patti* is styled a *Siana*, and is responsible to the Government for its revenues. Some villages are possessed by the tenure of military service. *Nāhen* is the capital, once a flourishing town.

Sketch of the Inhabitants.

Eternal feuds subsisted between the *Sirmeris* and the *Gerhwális*, under the dominion of their Rajas. Owing to this spirit, and the anarchy which prevailed in the interior, the *Gorkhas*, as allies of the *Srínagar Raja*, made an easy conquest of *Sirmór*. *Manóher Sinh*, their commander, who had been preceded by some smaller detachments, forded the *Tans*, at *Kelár Ghat*, in December 1804, and in the course of the following year carried his victorious arms to the banks of the *Setlej*. Devastation and emigration were the consequences of the subjugation of *Sirmór* by the Gorkhas. During a peace of ten years, the inhabitants had, in a great measure, recovered from the effects of the conquest; and it may be questioned whether their condition, in general, was not better under the severe government of its new masters, than under the misrule, and imperfect police of their native Rajas. These Princes having but an insufficient control over their subjects, each village decided its own disputes, and waged an incessant warfare with its neighbours.

The terror in which the new government was held, and its comparative vigour, entirely checked these proceedings, and the character of *Ranjūr T,happa*, the Gorkha governor, for mildness and justice, had in some degree reconciled the people to the revolution. But the cruelty and the extortion of the other Gorkha officers (aided by that love of independence, which is

the characteristic of mountaineers) counteracted this feeling, and excited those discontents which were found to prevail, on the invasion of the country by the British. Submission to the equitable rule of this power was deemed preferable to the despotism of masters, whom they feared, without respecting. Yet their manners to European travellers have been found deceitful, and inhospitable; the natural result of their poverty, and of the oppression and rapacity, to which they have been subject; coupled with a desire to impress their new lords with the most unfavourable ideas of the wealth of the country.

The *Sirmóris* are filthy in their persons and habits. Great inattention to cleanliness is exhibited in the interior of their houses; and nothing can be conceived more disgusting, than the skirts of their villages, at the close of the winter, when the snow begins to melt. Their habitations, however, are neatly and substantially built, of stone. Those S.W. of the *Girí*, have flat roofs; but in the interior, they consist of two and three stories, with pent roofs, projecting considerably over the wall, constructed of deal planks, and slated, where this material is procurable. Their villages are small, containing from three to fourteen houses. Situated on the summit of the ranges, or ornamenting their craggy slopes, they give a singular, but highly pleasing, effect to the mountain landscape.

Besides *Náhen*, *Kalsi* and *Keardah* are the only towns of which they can boast; unless *Rajpúr*, a place in *Kongra*, with two or three shops, can be accounted one. *Kalsi*, like *Náhen*, has lost much of its former prosperity; yet it still remains the *entrepôt* of the diminished commerce of the plain, with the countries to the northward.

Notwithstanding the dislike, in which the *Gorkhas* were held by both nations, ten years of restraint have not subdued the mutual animosity of the borderers of *Sirmór* and *Gerhwal*. The one, in speaking of the other, rarely uses the appellation of his nation, but substitutes the more expressive and rancorous term "*bairí*," signifying foe. This sentiment is very strong with the former, as he has suffered from the superior enterprise of his poorer, and more hardy neighbour; who makes war by sudden irruptions, and carries off the flocks of the nearest villages, their best moveable wealth. These incursions are seldom revenged.

The superstition of this people is extreme. Every peak is the residence of some sprite, whose wrath it is deemed dangerous to provoke.

Polyandry, or the custom of one woman having two or more husbands (relations), obtains among them. It frequently happens that two brothers succeed conjointly to an estate. They cohabit with one wife, and the integrity of the property is thus preserved.

Topography.

With the exception of the *Keardah Dún,* this country is entirely mountainous: for the narrow levels, which partially pervade the banks of the *Girí,* the *Tans,* and the *Jumna,* can scarcely be accounted valleys. The mountains lie in ranges, much indented, and often crowned with peaks, greatly higher than their general level. To give a clear and comprehensive idea of these ranges, they may be classed as primary, and secondary: the secondary being, as it were, the counterforts, or buttresses, to the first. Carrying on the analogy, these counterforts may be considered as minor ranges, which are in like manner buttressed by others, projecting from them; and these again by others, and so on, with invariable uniformity.

One continuous range extends from the mountain, which divides the sources of the *Setlej* and *Tans,* through *Biser,* to mount *Cupar,* at the head of the *Girí.* It there forms two branches: one stretching irregularly between these two rivers, passes through *Cúmharsia,* by the village of *T'heög* and the peak of *Rájghar,* whence it spreads towards the plain, in many diverging ranges, which, with their counterforts, fill up the space between the *Jumna,* at *Badshah Mahl,* and the *Setlej* at *Rúper.* The other connects with *Chúr,* and continuing by the forts of *Heripúr* and *Chandpúr,* divides the streams, which fall into the *Tans,* from those which feed the *Girí.* The peak, called *Chúr,* has an elevation, above the plain, of 10,588 feet; and though sixty miles from the nearest summit of the snowy chain, is higher than any intervening point. It is the centre, from which the several ranges radiate, that lie between the *Tans* and the *Girí.*

Between the rivers *Tans* and *Jumna,* a grand central range is to be traced from the snowy mountains, projecting its huge buttresses, on either side, with little uniformity. At the head of the *Umló,* this elevated ridge divides, and forms the basin of the stream, running, by *Kalsi,* into the *Jumna.* The most elevated land of this tract is from *Karám* peak, south to *Debún,* and crosswise from *Lákandí* to *Bogrú.*

Two snowy peaks are conspicuous, one of which, 17,571 feet high, is

d to give rise to the *Tans*, and to furnish tributary streams to the *Jumna*
d the *Bhagirathí*, one of the main branches of the Ganges. The other
out ten miles to the eastward, is 18,775 feet in height.

Climate, Productions, and Commerce.

A line drawn transversely along the range, separating the *Bajchú* an
ashiní Nallá, to *Chúr* peak, and thence S. E. by *Chandpúr*, to the *Tans*
d continued through *Lákandí*, *Debún*, *Bógrú*, and *Bartání*, to the *Jumna*
vides the mountainous region into two climates, distinguished by thei
oductions, and a sensible difference of temperature. In the divisio
ntiguous to the plain, the harvest occurs towards the latter end of April
d beginning of May; whereas, in the more distant highlands, the barle
as still unripe on the 26th of May, and the wheat frequently does no
pen at all.

The low land, on the banks of the rivers, is the most fertile and pro
uctive; and in parts of *Jounsár*, affords a revenue to the proprietor
nounting to one-half the produce. Other lands do not afford more tha
ne-fifth, and the back districts probably even less. It is evident, that a
vading force should not place much reliance on the resources of such
ountry.

The cultivation, in general, is carried on upon the surfaces of the se
ondary ranges, and upon their slopes, which are formed into terraces, fo
ie convenience of the plough. The small breed of black cattle, peculia
the mountains, is well adapted for this species of labour. The crops ar
canty and poor, from the quantity of stone which is mingled with the soil
he stubble of the corn, in reaping, is left very long. The grain is sepa
ted from the ear by the trampling of oxen, in circular enclosures, pave
ith slate.

Besides wheat and barley, a small black grain, called *Marwa* (*Eleusin
oracana*), is reared, and constitutes the chief food of the people; and ge
erally, all the frumentaceous and leguminous herbs, common to the plain
e grown. Rice is more attended to, and earlier sown, in the colde
imate. It is generally cultivated along the banks of the torrents, for th
onvenience of irrigation. The water, for this purpose, is conducted wit
uch ingenuity, and often carried across a deep glen, by a rustic aqueduc
onsisting of the hollow trunk of a fir tree. Other varieties of rice ar
roduced on the highlands, which do not require this labour.

The surplus produce of the country is conveyed to *Náhen* and *Kalsi*, whence it is exported to the plains. Turmeric, ginger, and capsicum, form articles of export from the lower to the upper highlands, and also to the plains. Excellent honey and walnuts, are conveyed from the hills to the low country. Tobacco of an inferior kind, and poppies, are partially cultivated, and require much care and attention. Cotton is grown, equal to the consumption of the country, which is not great, especially in the farther highlands, where woollen clothing is in use, for the greater part of the year. Salt is the chief import.

The climate of such a country, as may well be conceived, is very various. In the depths of the glens, and on the banks of the rivers, the sultriness is extreme; and a current of hot wind may be experienced, in the month of May, on the borders of the *Tans* river, offering a strong contrast to the delicious coolness of the highlands. The traveller, in the summer months, would do well to avoid the low ground, and direct his course, as much as possible, along the crests of the ranges. The thermometer, on the 26th of May, at noon, at *Pingoä*, in *Kandu*, stood at 62°; on the 27th, near *Sangúk Ghat*, on the *Tans*, at 102°. Snow falls in *Jábal*, and lies two to three feet deep, on the elevated ranges, projecting from *Chúr*, and on the central land, between the *Tans* and *Jumna*, as late as the middle of March. That lofty peak is enveloped in snow, till the month of June. It is said that rain never falls there. The musk deer, the denizen of eternal snow, is sometimes found on the side of this mountain. It is strangled by the snare laid for it, and is seldom caught alive.

The productions of the woods and forests are as various, as the climate. The farther side of the boundary line, above described, and of the contiguous mountains, is covered with several species of the finest fir trees; whereas the oak, and a beautiful tree called the *Boras* (*Rhododendron puniceum*) prevail on the warmer face of this elevated region. The sources of the *Raknúr*, and the neighbourhood of *Karám* peak, produce a vast variety of valuable forest trees, of immense growth, among which is observed the horse-chesnut. Strawberries, and raspberries, grow on the mountain sides; and barberries, cranberries, cherry trees, the dog-rose, the weeping willow, and other plants and trees, familiar to Europeans, frequently occur on the road side, and in the woods and glens. Apples, pears, peaches, and apricots are seen near the villages. The pears and peaches never arrive at perfection.

Seven distinct species of fir are observed in *Sirmór*. 1. The *Dúp*, or

Sarlí, with the large cone, found in abundance near *Náhen*; 2. the *Chír*, another long-leaved fir, very common; 3. the *Ró*, bearing a small oval cone; 4. the *Kelöi*, whose cone is from six to eight inches long, and of a delightful fragrance; the wood of this tree is the most valued of all the firs 5. the *Morinda*; 6. the *Theönar*; and 7. *Liaur*, complete the enumeration. The five last reach the greatest perfection, on the ranges projecting from *Chúr*, and those between *Karám* and *Lákandí*. The *Dúp*, and *Chır*, are long-leaved. The turpentine, pitch, and tar, which the fir forests would yield, are alone sufficient to render them worthy of attention. Their value, as timber, is much diminished by the difficulty and labour, which must attend their removal; and on account of their distance from any dock-yard, where they would be most prized. Roads might, however, be opened to the nearest points of the *Tans*, and *Jumna*, from the banks of which it would be easy to float them down, at a moderate expense.

Mines.

Sirmór is not productive in mines, as they are at present wrought. A copper mine near *Kalsi*, was formerly productive; but has, for some time, been abandoned. Abundance of iron ore is found on the slopes of the hills, near the great *Lákandí*. The ore yields one-fourth of its weight of impure iron, which scarcely affords the labourer his bread. It is procured by smelting in a small clay furnace, in the form of the frustum of a cone, from which it runs out, imperfectly liquified, at an orifice beneath. The coarse iron is sold at twenty-four sers for a rupee; and is chiefly used at the neighbouring lead mine of *Lódí*. This is a more profitable concern, and gives employment daily to one hundred men. From twenty-five to thirty maunds of ore are collected in a day, which yield six maunds of metal, valued at ten rupees per maund.

In *Jounsar*, and the country lying between the *Sain* range and *Chúr*, are some slate quarries. This material, clumsily wrought, is used for roofing, in those districts where timber is scarce. It is difficult to say, what stores of mineral wealth may be contained in such a country. They offer an ample field of research to the mineralogist, as the vegetable productions do to the botanist.

Sand-stone prevails in the low ranges, contiguous to the plains, and in the *Jaitak* range; and calcareous incrustations are occasionally observed, in the beds of the torrents, which here have their birth. Sections of pudding-stone

appear alternating with strata of soft and imperfect sand-stone, which the passes into these ranges disclose, inclining at an angle of 15° with the horizon. Primitive lime-stone rock, projecting in awful and fanciful forms its craggy pinnacles, discovers itself to be the basis of the *Sain* range. The schistose rock, which prevails in the regions beyond, and in *Jounsár*, contains iron, as is occasionally indicated, to the mortification of the surveyor, by the deviation of the magnetic needle.

Roads.

The communications through the country are very imperfect, and totally unfit for the marching of bodies of troops, exceeding a few companies. A path of a foot and a half in width, with the mountain rising precipitously on one side, and a deep glen on the other, if not very rugged, is esteemed by the natives a good road. Beasts of burthen are never used beyond *Náhen* or *Kalsí*; and it is with difficulty that a led horse, even of the indigenous breed, accompanies the traveller. The roads, such as they are, suffice for the limited commerce of the country. It would neither be difficult, nor expensive, to render them more commodious, and to open new ones, suited to the extended and more ready intercourse, which is now required. This is evident from those which have been made, in the mountainous districts, that have lately been under military occupation. Generally, a direct distance of ten miles, measured on the map, will give fifteen of road distance.

Passes.

The two principal débouches into *Deira Dún*, are sufficiently known. They have been much improved by the late frequency of ingress and egress, and are passable for every species of carriage. The one leading to *Náhen* might, with a little labour, be made practicable for loaded camels. The other passes, from the plain to *Sirmór*, by the valleys of *Deira* and *Keardah*, are less known and less frequented.

Fords.

From *Onúri*, a place of great sanctity, to *Heripúr*, the *Tans* has six fords: the three upper ones practicable until the middle of May; and the other three, only during the winter months. The map exhibits ten fords, on the *Jumna*, above its union with the *Tans*, and four below. The former

are passable, until the commencement of the rainy season, and the latter only till the melting of the snow, in March. The access to the fords of both rivers, above their junction, is extremely difficult, and easily to be defended against a very superior force. The *Girí* is almost always fordable.

Besides these fords, the mountaineers have a contrivance, called a *Jola*, by which they cross the *Tans* and *Jumna*, at all seasons. The narrowest part of the river is chosen, and four or five ropes, called a *T,hovan*, are thrown across, and made fast to upright stakes, rendered firm by being let into the rock, and strengthened by loose stones, piled around them. To these ropes, is attached a piece of wood, called the *Jola*, (made to fit the small of the back), by the assistance of which the passenger glides across the river, with his back to the water, flowing perhaps thirty or forty feet beneath him. If loaded, his load is suspended on a ring of wood, sliding over the rope, and easily drawn across by means of a small cord, doubling through the supporting stakes. The traveller who does not chuse to trust himself to his own exertions, may avail himself of this resource. The *T,hovans* vary from sixty to one hundred and thirty feet in length.

Rivers.

The *Jumna*, before it is precipitated into the plains, is swelled by two large streams, the *Girí* and the *Tans*. The *Tans*, *Jumna*, and the *Bhágirathí*, one of the main branches of the *Ganges*, are said to rise from the same group of mountains as the *Girí*, but this information should be received with caution.

The appearance of the two first, from *Bástab*, and *Chamriya*, and their gradual approximation, render it probable that their sources cannot be very remote. When the snow begins to melt, the waters of these rivers are discoloured; those of the *Tans* are of a greenish grey (similar to the *Setlej* at *Beláshúr*), while those of the *Jumna* are of a brownish red. The *Setlej* has a longer course, through the mountains, than either the *Tans*, or *Jumna*. The snowy chain, coming from the east to the peak of *Jamnotrí*, thence trends northerly.

Forts.

Many forts, or more properly castles, are scattered through *Sirmór*. Their strength consists in their position, which is generally on peaks, com-

manding all the neighbouring heights. They are built of stone, connected with wooden binders. The want of water is their chief weakness, and must ultimately cause their surrender to an investing force, unless covered by an army from without, to secure a supply of this necessary article. An army, in this situation, fortifies itself with wooden stockades; and the fort, which they are intended to cover, becomes no more than a point in the position; and its fall must necessarily follow a successful attack on the covering force.

G. R. B.

Delhi, 18 *February* 1816.

VI. *Essay on the* Bhills.* *By Major-General Sir* John Malcolm, *G.C.B. and V.P.R.A.S.*

Read January 17, 1824.

The four divisions of Hindus, *viz.* the Priests, Soldiers, Merchants, and Labourers,† appear to have existed in every human society, at a certain stage of civilization; but in India alone have they been maintained, for several thousand years, with prescriptive rigour. The mixture of races, caused by the operation of human passions (beyond the power of rules to controul), which in most countries has tended to destroy such distinctions among the four primitive classes, has in India only extended to an indefinite number of tribes, or castes, exclusive customs and privileges, of which the lowest are as tenacious as the highest.

The institutions, the arts, and even the language of the Hindus, appear, at the earliest times, of which we have any general history, to have been more perfect than at present; but it is evident, that so artificial a state of society must have been, for many years, progressive towards that point, at which, in a very remote period, we find it had arrived; and it must have been grounded upon some prior structure of society, of which we have now no distinct knowledge. It therefore becomes an object to discover, if any fragments of that structure yet remain; and if they do, they are only to be traced by a minute investigation into the history, usages, and rites, of such tribes and families, as are now accounted among the lowest and most despised inhabitants of India. We may conclude, that, when the *Bráhmans* had established their superior rights and privileges, numbers of the inhabitants of India, who adhered to their own superstitious practices, would be deemed outcasts; and, as such, would be condemned to the most degrading occupations in society, or be compelled to fly to woods and mountains, in order to find refuge from persecution and oppression, in a life of poverty and privation. Similarity of condition, and the care of providing for their security, would produce union among men thus situated, and they would divide, according to circumstances, into separate families and tribes, who,

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* *Bhilla* (vulgarly *Bheel*) is noticed in *Hémachandra's* Sanscrit Vocabulary, as the name of a tribe of barbarians. Wilson's Sans. Dict. *ad vocem.*

† *Bráhmans, Chetriyas, Vaisyas,* and *Súdras.*

though contemned by the higher classes of Hindus, might in course of time be expected to amalgamate, in some degree, with those impure tribes, who, though sprung from the four privileged classes, have been subsequently degraded, on account of their spurious birth.

As we have no distinct account of the establishment of the Brahmenical institutions, we are ignorant of the origin of the pre-existing tribes, to which I have alluded; but of the illegitimate races, descended from the four primitive classes, we find frequent mention in the Hindu records. The *Chandála*, which includes many of the spurious classes, is stated by Menu* to have sprung from a *Súdra* father and a *Brahmení* mother; while a *Nishdda* or *Párasava* (both of which terms mean an outcast) is descended from a *Bráhmen* and a *Súdrá* mother. Menu calls the *Chandála* the lowest of mortals, because he seems to have considered it a greater crime for a woman of rank to debase herself, by an impure connection, than a man.

Other authors † have noticed these general classes of outcasts; all of whom, though degraded, have continued to observe the rites, and to cherish the superstitious faith, of those from whom they are descended.

The chief difficulty in distinguishing, at this period, the tribes and families, which never formed a part of the Hindu system, from those which its temporary rulers have degraded or ejected, arises from the mixture which time, and the similarity of situation and habits, have produced between these two classes, whose original usages and rites were probably not very remote; for, from the construction of the Brahmenical system, it is evident, that the attainment and preservation of worldly power must have been the primary object of those, by whom it was established, and such motives would prevent them making any great change in the polytheism of India.

But even supposing this change was effected, men driven into a base or savage condition of society, deprived of all instruction, and born and bred in habits of toil and warfare, would naturally adopt and imitate the superstitions of tribes, which appeared to their rude imagination so far above them, in all intellectual attainments, as well as worldly enjoyments.

Menu terms the forbidden or spurious offspring of the four primitive classes of society "*Dasyu*" (or plunderers), a term which implies their

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* Menu's Institutes, Book X, v 12.

† Mr. Colebrooke, on the authority of the *Játimála*, assigns the same origin for the *Nishdda* or *Párasava*, as has been quoted from Menu.

having adopted that life. It is agreed that these men, driven to despair, by being placed beyond the pale of the privileged castes, would naturally become the enemies of the society from which they were expelled. But it is not consistent with the art and wisdom, so evident in the whole frame of the Hindu system, to suppose that its authors would unnecessarily establish hostile communities, to disturb the general peace; and the allotment of trades * and professions to several of these spurious classes, contradicts the supposition. There must have been a distinct class existing in the community, upon whom these outcasts grafted themselves, before they were stigmatized by the lawgiver as plunderers; and it is singular, that, in the remarkable verse † of the Rámáyana (which claims to be the most ancient of Hindu poems), the *Vyádh*, or fowler, is particularly denounced by its author, the sage Valmíkí, for his inhumanity in killing one of two herons,‡ which the sage observed enjoying themselves on the margin of a pure stream, in which he was bathing.

Enough has been said to shew, that we may expect to throw light upon the ancient history of India, from minute enquiries into the origin of the

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* The goldsmiths, the workers in cane, and many other castes, are of spurious origin, and are noticed by Menu.

† "Oh, Nisha'da (Valmíkí exclaimed), mayest thou never acquire long enduring renown. "For, of this pair of herons, thou hast slain one, at the very moment it was intoxicated with "love."

This is asserted, in the poem, to have been the first stanza ever composed in the Sanscrit language; as we read, that, when "Valmíkí had pronounced these words, it struck him that he "had uttered a very remarkable sentence; and reflecting on its structure, he observed to his "disciple Bharadwa'ja, that it consisted of four feet of equal syllables, and then directed him "to call it a *sloka*, or verse. The obedient disciple acquiesced, and they both returned to the "hermitage; the sage pondering in the way on the nature of his couplet. On his arrival, while "absorbed in deep reflection, arising from this event, he was honoured with a visit from Brahma', "the Lord of creatures. Valmíkí arose, and after duly reverencing the God, he exclaimed, "'By this depraved and ignorant fowler, has so much misery been caused! how wantonly has "he killed the sweetly plaintive heron.'

"Brahma' smiled, and addressing Valmíkí, directed him to write the history of Ra'ma, in "such measured words as he had just uttered, in grief for the unfortunate heron. Brahma' then "vanished from his sight, after declaring, that the Ra'ma'yana, he was about to write, should "remain current amongst men, as long as the earth should endure, and that Valmíkí himself "should be rewarded, for its composition, by an abode in heaven, as long as height and depth "could be predicated of that region."

‡ The bird, mentioned in the original, is the *Ardea torra*, familiarly known, in India, by the name of *Paddy-bird*, from its frequenting the fields of that grain.

usages and superstitions of the lowest classes of its population; but this subject requires still more of our attention, from such knowledge being essential to give success to our efforts to maintain the peace and promote the prosperity of our Eastern empire. These classes are at once the most ignorant and most barbarous of the community; and we may rest assured, that all attempts towards their permanent reform will fail, unless grounded on an intimate acquaintance with their past and present condition.

I shall, after these prefatory observations, proceed to contribute my mite towards the accomplishment of an object which I deem so important, by stating what I know of the fabulous and real origin of the *Bhills*, a race of men inhabiting the mountainous tracts of *Candeish*, *Malwa*, and *Rajputana*.

The *Bhills* are, and deem themselves, a distinct people. There are so many different tribes among them, that it has been conjectured by some, that the general name of *Bhill* only denotes a confederacy of mixed and degraded races of Hindus, associated by political events and local circumstances: but, though there can be no doubt, that their strength has been increased, and their consequence raised, by recruits sprung from the prohibited intercourse of the primitive Hindu castes, there is every reason to believe that the original race of *Bhills* may claim a high antiquity, and that they were once masters of many of the fertile plains of India, instead of being confined, as they now are, to the rugged mountains and almost impenetrable jungles. There are authentic records of the *Rajput* sovereigns of *Jaudhpur* and *Udeypur* having subdued large tracts from the *Bhills*; and the countries now under the *Rajput* princes of *Dongerpur* and *Banswara*, may be termed recent conquests from the same tribe, who, though they have no longer their own chiefs, still form the mass of the population. The same may be said of all the *Rajput* territories, in the woody and hilly tract which separates *Malwa* from *Guzerat*, and the latter province from *Mewar*.* But it is in that wild and uncultivated country which stretches along the left bank of the *Nermada*, from the plains of *Nemar* to those of *Guzerat*, amid the *Satpurah* and *Adjentí* ranges, and among the hills of *Baglanah*

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* The countries, above mentioned, extend from 20° to near 25° North latitude, and from 73° to 76° East longitude; but this is only in part inhabited by *Bhills*, whom we find in the neighbouring hills, whence they extend in one line along the mountains to the furthest limits of *Dongerpur*. They are also to be found in many of the smaller ranges of the hills of *Guzerat* and *Mewar*; but their favourite abodes are the woody and rugged banks of the *Taptí*, the *Mehí*, and the *Nermada*.

in *Candeish*, where this race have been least disturbed, that we may expect to find their usages most distinct from those of other classes.

The extraordinary custom, common to almost all the countries that have been mentioned, of the *tíka*, or mark that is put upon the forehead of the *Rajput* prince or chief, when he succeeds to power, being moistened with blood taken from the toe or thumb of a *Bhill*, may be received as one among many proofs of their having been formerly in possession of the principalities, where this usage prevails.

The *Mínahs*,* another degraded tribe, whose princes, till within the last nine hundred years, ruled over the country of *Jeypur*, are as tenacious, as the *Bhills*, in maintaining a ceremony, which, though declaredly meant as a pledge of allegiance, appears to be cherished as a memorial of former power. The right of giving the blood for this ceremony is claimed by particular families; and the belief, that the individual, from whose veins it is supplied, never lives beyond a twelvemonth, in no degree operates to repress the zeal of the *Bhills* to perpetuate an usage, which the *Rajput* princes † are, without exception, desirous should cease. The feeling of the latter is often accounted for by their fear of being polluted with the blood of an impure person; but it no doubt proceeds from a dislike, in some of these proud rulers, of being reminded, by this recurring ceremony, of the short date of their authority, and of the implied necessity of its being sanctioned and confirmed by the lowest of their subjects.

I found, on enquiry, that, though the above usage still existed in many principalities, it had in several been discontinued for one, two, and three generations. A minute investigation into the prevalence of it, or similar customs, that recognise the possession of the rights of these degraded tribes, would be useful in determining the degree of power they had formerly enjoyed.

There are many circumstances, which would authorise the conclusion,

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* The mode in which the present rulers of *Jeypur* gained possession of this great and rich principality, is remarkable. An expatriated *Rajput*, of the *Kaichiwara* tribe, was adopted as his heir by the reigning *Mínah* Prince of *Narwar*, and from him the *Jeypur* family is descended.

† The Princes of *Udeypur* are stated not to be desirous of the discontinuance of this usage, which they refer to a sense of gratitude to a *Bhill*, who saved the life of a prince of their family; a tradition, which prevents the pride of this high family being hurt, by a recollection, that the throne, they now possess, had ever a meaner occupant.

MAHARAJA SERFOJI'S ...

that the *Bhills* come from the countries N.W. of *Malwa*.* One of the strongest is, that the principal *rawels* and *bhats* (priests and minstrels) of *Rath* and *Nemar*, and I believe those of *Candeish*, come once or twice a year from the countries of *Udeypur* and *Jaudhpur*, to visit the tribes settled in the more southern districts.

The *Bhills* have a fabulous tale regarding their origin, which I have elsewhere stated.† This ascribes their descent to an intercourse between a celestial and terrestrial being. Mahádéva (we are told) became enamoured of an earthly beauty, and had a family by her. One of his sons, alike remarkable for his deformity and vice, slew the sacred bull of his father; for which sacrilege he was banished to the mountains: where he became the founder of a race inheriting his vices and his turbulence, which took the name of *Bhills*; an appellation that has been, in course of time, indiscriminately applied to the *Chandála* and *Nishâda*‡ (outcasts of spurious birth),

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* Dr. Drummond, of Bombay, is of a different opinion. He considers the *Bhills*, as well as the *Kúlís*, to be originally inhabitants of *Guzerat* and the south of India. In the latter part of this conjecture I do not coincide; and I am confirmed in my opinion by that of Captain Tod, an officer distinguished by his general attainments in Hindu literature and antiquities, and whose minute local knowledge of the country of *Rajputana*, and its inhabitants, exceeds that of any other individual. Captain Tod observes, in reply to my query upon this subject, "We can trace "the *Bhills* as powerful communities so far back as the *Mahabharat*; for even *Virât*, to which "the five *Pándawas* were banished, formed part of that grand forest, the *Herambar tarca*, "which comprehended both *Surashtra* and *Gujjararashtra*, from the world's end (*Jagat Kúnt* "*Dwarka*) to the *Malwa* frontier, along the *Nermada*, and embracing *Eidur* and *Dongerpur*. "*Abu*, and the tracts anciently called *Dandhar*, comprehending *Koliwara* and tracts up the "*Lernswáti* and the western *Benas*, an immense tract of country. *Herambar* was the titular "appellation of those forest lords, and there are legends without end of Bhíma's pranks with "the fair Bhilmi in the *Malwa* frontier, and at *Girnar* in the centre of *Surashtra*. The "name of Bhill is immortalized by his giving the death-blow to the head of the powerful *Radu* "(*Jadún*) tribes. The deified Krishna, who mixed in the fight of *Kuru-cshétra*, and was "charioteer to his friend Arjuna, when the Poet says, 'He crimsoned the yellow mantle in the "red-stained field.' The curse of the sage Durvasas, and the *Bhill* slaying the Indian Apollo "(*Muralidhar*, the flute-holder,) is well known to all the lovers of Hindu legendary tales."

† Vide Central India, Vol. I. p. 518.

‡ I am informed by Mr. Haughton, of the East-India College, to whose knowledge of Sanscrit literature I am much indebted, that the term *Nishâda*, which signifies an outcast race, is radically different from *Nishaddha*, a country of which Nala (whose misfortunes are so beautifully described in the *Mahâbhârata*) was sovereign. This episode has been translated into Latin by the learned Professor Bopp, who is one among the many distinguished men of his country, that have of late made a great proficiency in oriental literature. The European public are promised

a complete

many of whom dwell among them. The *Bhills* also dwelt, and still dwell in the country of *Nisháda*, whose localities are geographically discussed in the *Agni Purán*. It is the modern *Nerwer* or *Nalwer;* and, amongst its inhabitants, the tribe of *Lauriyah* is accounted one of the finest and oldest of the *Bhill* race. This was the country of the Prince Nala, whose name is in chronological tables as one of the *Suryavans*, or children of the Sun: and from him the *Jeypur* family trace their descent.

Besides the general pretensions of all *Bhills* to a celestial origin, we find in every district some fable which ennobles their local chiefs, by tracing their descent from demi-gods, princes, and heroes. But before entering upon a description of the different classes of this people, I must shortly notice their religion, their superstitions, and their usages.

The *Bhills*, with the exception of a few tribes (who were converted to the Mahomedan religion) must be classed with the Hindu population; although they are in appearance, and in many of their habits, distinct from the other races of India. They worship the same gods; but their religious ceremonies are, in a great measure, limited to propitiatory offerings, and sacrifices, to some of the Hindu minor infernal deities;* particularly

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a complete translation of the *Rámáyana* by the able and eloquent Schlegel, Professor at Bonn; and his published translation of the *Bhágavad Gíta* is a proof of his competency to the arduous task.

* It is impossible to describe all the gods that are worshipped, by this rude race; for every tribe has different objects of adoration, arising from local superstitions and legends. The following is a list of the principal deities of the *Bhills* in *Jebuah* and its vicinity, and the occasions on which they deem it necessary to propitiate their favour:

Kali. On many occasions.

Hatipowa. At the *Déwálí* and *Dasahará* feasts, as presiding over village cultivators.

Waghacha Kunwer. To protect them against the ravages of wild beasts.

Halk Mata. For success in their predatory journies and undertakings.

Khorial Mata. For protection to the cattle from sickness and plundering.

Devi Kanail. For a good ripening of their corn, and for plenty.

Behyu Baji. For rain.

Ghora Raja. Against attacks and plunderers.

Hallam. Worshipped by the *Malwa Bhills*, at the annual pilgrimage to the large hill of *Retna Wal*, in *Bariya*.

Chamconda Mata is the goddess of harvest; and the first of every grain cut is offered to her.

Howín Wana Mata. Against murrain or lameness amongst their cattle.

Síta' Mata. The goddess of small-pox.

Bhulbae

the *goddess of small-pox*, SITA MATA, whom they invoke under various names, in the hope of averting its dreadful ravages. They pay great reverence to MAHÁDÉVA; from whom (as has been stated) they boast their descent.

The *Bhills* often make small mud figures of horses, which they range round their idol, to whom they promise a fine charger if he will hear their petition; and it is not unusual to place the image upon one of these figures. The extreme reverence of this rude race for the horse is very singular; and in many of their legends the principal event depends on the assistance, or advice, of an enchanted horse.

The *Bhills* neither build, nor frequent, pagodas or temples; but in general select for a place of worship some particular tree, which is consecrated by a few large stones put on an elevated terrace of mud, which is constructed at its root. In some places, however, a small open shed is erected for some particularly sacred image.

At the *Dasahará** many of the *Bhills* resort to the principal neighbouring towns to celebrate that feast, and sacrifice at the outside of the village to DURGÁ, a goddess to whom they at all times pay adoration. But the most singular, and perhaps the original worship of the *Bhills*, is that which they pay to their deceased ancestors, or chiefs of note. On the death of one of these, a brass bull or horse is formed and delivered to the *Bhat*,† who makes an annual circuit of the hamlets, with this image, performing the requisite ceremonies, and commemorating, in songs, the fame of the deceased; for

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BHULBAE MATA. In times of epidemic sickness, cholera, &c. &c.

BHADRÍ BAE. Small-pox.

GHONA. Small-pox.

The sacrifice or offering to HATIPOWA and WAGHACHA KUNWER, is a bullock; to the others, fowls and he-goats: a male bird to the male deities; and a female to the female ones. Their usual ceremonies consist in merely smearing the idol, which is seldom any thing but a shapeless stone, with vermilion and red lead, or oil; offering, with prostrations and a petition, an animal and some liquor; casting a small portion of each, with some pulse, into the fire; and then partaking of the flesh and remaining liquor, after giving the presiding *Rawel*, or *Bhat*, his share.

* The *Dasahará* begins on the tenth of *Aswin* (September,—October), on which, after the worship and religious ceremonies have been performed nine nights, they throw the image of the goddess DÉVÍ (KA'LÍ) into the river. On this day RA'MA marched against RAVENA, King of Ceylon; for which reason it is called the victorious tenth.

† The *Bhat* is both the bard and chronicler of the *Bhills*, as of all the low tribes. This class have been described in the Memoir of Central India, Vol. II. p. 131, &c.

which service he receives, as his dues, a piece of cloth, and the vessels, and other articles, used in the sacrifice. It is also common for the *Bhills* to raise, on such occasions, a cairn, or rude pile of stones, to the chief who is beatified; and the top of this pile is, at particular periods of worship, covered with oil, red lead, and vermilion.

I cannot better illustrate the belief and usages of the *Bhills*, regarding their sainted heroes, than by giving a legend of the tribes inhabiting the mountainous tract, situated between the *Nermada* and the *Tápti*, and lying to the west of the level parts of *Nemar*. The demi-gods and heroes of other tribes differ in their names and qualities, and in the fables relating to their origin, from those described in the legend; but the miracles, which attended their birth and progress, are all of similar character and construction.

According to the traditions, and written records, of some of the oldest and best informed of the *Rawels*, or holy men, of these *Nemar Bhills*, "A "youth of the mercantile class, named Olia, of *Tóran Mall*, who had "left his own family, came to the house of a *Bráhmen* school-master, called "Khoja, who took him under his protection, and educated him, along "with his own daughter, named Barmá. One day, the two young scho-"lars were assisting each other in their lessons, when the girl proposed "casting their nativity, in order to discover whether they were born under "the influence of the same star, and consequently capable of being united "in marriage or not. They were employed in this task, when the *Bráhmen* "arrived, who, perceiving in what they were engaged, was very angry, "and taxing the young *Banyá* with ingratitude, in aspiring to the hand "of his daughter, struck him several blows. The *Banyá*, irritated by "such usage, lifted up his writing-board, and gave the *Bráhmen* so severe a "blow, that it killed him. Alarmed at what he had done, he prepared to "flee, when the girl entreated him to take her with him. He agreed to "this; and after having performed the funeral rites of the deceased *Bráh-"men*, they departed, and went to *Toran Mall*, where they lived as man "and wife.

"Some time after this, Barmá, leaving her husband to take care of the "household affairs, accompanied the *Játrá*, or annual concourse of pilgrims, "going to worship Sedásiva, who was then passing his time in *tapasya*, or "mental abstraction, on the hill of *Dhavalagiri Parvat* (or the White Moun-

"tain) in *Gondwara*.* Barma', on her arrival, performed her devotions "to Sedásiva, with such assiduity that, when that holy being awoke from "the trance, in which he had been plunged, she attracted his attention, and "he desired her to mention her prayer, and it should be granted. Barmá "replied, that her only wish was to be blest with children, that her name "might remain in the land of her nativity. Sedásiva, on hearing this, "gave her a club, or staff, which he directed her to throw against the "branches of a mango-tree, and to pick up the fruit that fell. She obeyed, "and obtained five mangoes; but not being satisfied, she again threw up "the stick, when, to her surprise, it adhered to the tree, and at the same "time, the mangoes she had already obtained, vanished from her hand. "Mortified by this disappointment, she imposed upon herself, as a penance "for her avarice, the task of sweeping with the long dishevelled tresses of "her hair, the spot on which Sedásiva lay reclined in *tapasya*, hoping "that her humility and devotion would appease that anger, to which she "attributed her disappointment. Barmá had performed this task for the "space of seven years, when Sedásiva again opened his eyes, and, perceiv- "ing the same votary standing before him, enquired why she had not de- "parted with her fruit. Barma' related what she had done, and the "consequence. 'It was a just punishment,' said Sedásiva, 'for your "cupidity. Take the stick, and try again; but learn to be satisfied with "what fate grants you, and seek no more.' Barmá, thus warned, took "the stick, and knocking down five mangoes, departed with them to *Tóran* "*Mall*. During the journey, she happened to lodge at the house of a "*Komár*, or pot-maker, whose daughter ate one of the mangoes, and be- "came immediately pregnant. In the same manner, three other mangoes "were eaten by the respective daughters-in-law of the different house- "holders, who gave her lodging. They were, a *Banyá* (a merchant), a "*Rajput* (a soldier), and a *Gówála* (a cowherd). Their daughters-in-law, "becoming all pregnant from eating the mangoes, were, in due time, de- "livered of sons. The *Komár's* daughter-in-law's son was called Dur- "kumbhí; the *Banyá's* was called Gunjí; the *Rajput's* was called Wang "Sámar; and the *Gówála's* was called Vélam.

* Probably the *Mahádéva* hills, where the pilgrims still continue to pay their adoration to Seda'siva, or Maha'déva.

"BARMÁ proceeded with the only remaining mango, till she came to "a part of the country that was overgrown with long grass, in which her "feet getting entangled, she fell, and dropt her mango. On missing it, "she turned to look for it, and perceived it change into an egg, which as "suddenly became transformed into a serpent. She conjured the reptile, "if subject to the power of SEDÁSIVA, again to become an egg; which "having taken place, as she desired, she took the egg in her hand, and "proceeding on her journey, reached *Tóran Mall* in safety. The egg "afterwards produced twins, a boy and a girl, who were called KÚNDA "and KÚNDAN."

After this the story becomes defective. No further mention is made of OLIA and BARMÁ; and the five brothers, with their sister, are introduced as grown up, and living together at *Tóran Mall.* They are represented as being in a state of indigence, and obliged to labour for their food, or procure it by hunting. Being, however, the children of SEDÁSIVA, they are under the protection of divine power; and, in one of their hunting excursions, they find a horse, which proves to be of celestial breed. This animal, which has the gift of speech, tells the brothers, that they are destined to rise, from poverty and obscurity, to wealth and power, by one of them marrying KÁJEL RÁNÍ. KÚNDA (who appears to be the recognised head of his brothers), enquires who this KÁJEL RÁNÍ is, and how she is to be obtained. The horse replies, that she is a *Gandharba* (a fairy, or celestial being), and that she resides at her father's court, in a distant region, called *Méghpurí* (or the city of the cloud), from whence she is in the habit of descending, with seven other celestial nymphs,* to bathe in the river *Sípra.*† The horse offers to conduct KÚNDA to the spot, and to assist him in concealing himself from view, while the nymphs bathe in the river, when KÚNDA is instructed to seize KÁJEL RÁNÍ's garments, and not to restore them till she promises to become his wife. In short, KÚNDA gains the RÁNÍ by following the advice of the horse. After he had obtained her,

* There are a great many nymphs at INDRA's court, and, as it is believed that the demi-god can be dispossessed of his sovereignty, by any mortal who can exceed him in the austerities, by which he obtained his present power, he generally despatches one of these charming and alluring damsels, to tempt the ascetic, and to interrupt and destroy the efficacy of his self-imposed penance.

† The *Sípra* is a river in *Malwa,* which flows past the sacred city of *Ujayan.* For description of its course, vide Central India, Vol. II. Index, p. 513.

she is much distressed at the idea of the calumny, to which she would be exposed, for having eloped; especially as her father had already betrothed her to a prince. She therefore advises Kúnda to allow her to return to her native sphere, to which she recommends him to ascend, and carry her off publicly, as his doing so would save her reputation. Kúnda, after consulting his oracle, the horse, who promises him success, agrees to this proposition, and Kájel Rání, with her attendants, wings her flight into the upper regions. When the period fixed for the celebration of her nuptials with the Prince, to whom she was betrothed, arrives, Kúnda and his brothers mount the horse, which carries them to *Méghpurí*, just as the marriage-ceremony commences. Kúnda prays for aid from Sedásiva, and is consequently endowed with the strength of twelve elephants. He approaches Kájel Rání; and seizing her intended spouse, annihilates him with one blow; and then bearing off the bride, from the midst of surrounding hosts, he mounts her on the horse, which bears them in safety to *Tóran Mall.*

From the date of this event, Kúnda, who is now called Kúnda Ráná (or prince), lived happily with Kájel Rání, to whom he was married, and in course of time (according to the prediction of the horse*) obtained wealth and dominion, by conquest, it is said; but no further particulars are known. Kúnda Ráná, and his brothers, are reported to have possessed the kingdoms of *Malwa*, *Guzerat*, and *Candeish*; but this probably means no more, than that they plundered these countries.

The era of Kúnda Ráná is subsequent to that of any of the Rájás and Princes, celebrated in the *Mahá-bhárat*; in which, however, mention is made of *Tóran Mall*: a Rájá of that place, named Yuvanáśwa, being there represented as fighting with some of the *Pándava* race.

The following is an account of the progeny of Kúnda Ráná, and his brothers:

Balla Rájel, son of Kúnda Ráná, by his wife Kájel Rání.

Bhillet, son of Vélam Gówála, by his wife Merenda Gówálin.

Lajjac, son of Durkumbhí, by Dáśel.

Kuájá, son Gúnjí Banyá, by Ranjaní.

Sodul, son of Wangsámer, by Lárbae.

There were altogether seven sons, but their names are not known. They

* No further notice is taken of the horse in the story.

were called *Kúhans;* and their offspring (with their relations by marriages) formed a family of sixty, who were called the sixty *Ráwets*, or knights, of whom Kúnda Ráná was the chief. This race has been extinct for ages, and the sixty *Ráwets* are now exalted to as many *Dongrí Dévas* (or hill-gods), who are worshipped by the *Bhillálas* and *Bhills*, as well as by almost all the Hindus of the lower classes, of *Nemar*. Of all the sixty *Ráwets* (or hill-gods) Bhillet, son of Vélam Gówála, is the most revered: and this arises from the skill he possessed in magic, and from the success, he was, in consequence, enabled to obtain during an expedition, in which he accompanied the god Bhairava (another son of Sedásiva). They both went (it is said) to *Cámrúp*, where the latter fell a victim to the arts of the sorcerers and sorceresses of that country, who transformed him into a beast; but he was rescued by Bhillet, who, by his superior skill in necromancy, subdued all the magicians and sorcerers, and restoring Bhairava to his natural shape, brought him away in safety.

This tissue of superstition and fable has given rise to a race of men, called *Barwás*,* who are supposed, through the influence of the hill-gods (whose votaries they are), to be endowed with the hereditary gift of inspiration. Their powers are, however, dormant, till they are excited by music; and for this reason, they have a class of musicians connected with them, who are proficient in numerous songs, in praise of the hill deities. When the recitation of these songs has kindled the spark of spiritual fire, they begin to dance with frantic gestures, and loosening their hair, toss, and whirl round their heads, whilst their whole frame becomes agitated, as if under the influence of strong convulsions. In this state of phrenzy, they give utterance to oracles, which are attentively listened to by those, who come to consult them. The *Barwás* are of various castes, and admit disciples. The novices are required to perform daily ablutions, in warm water, for nine days, and to allow their hair to grow, to as great a length as possible. They then undergo a probation; and if music does not stimulate them to a state of extatic phrenzy, they are rejected, as not being favoured by the gods with a requisite portion of spiritual grace.

The *Barwás* act also as physicians, and cure trifling complaints, by means of simples, which the jungles produce. When the disease is serious, and

* The *Barwás* of the *Bhills* appear to be nearly similar to the *Bhópas*; for an account of whom, vide Central India, Vol. II. p. 214.

of a nature beyond the reach of their skill to discover, they invariably attribute it to the evil influence of a *Dhákan*,* or witch. In such cases, it is their duty to detect this *Dhákan*, which is effected by the performance of various ceremonies: sometimes by music; and at other times by a bunch of peacock's feathers, made into a broom, being waved round the head of the patient. In some cases, more cruel means are used to compel the *Dhákan* to declare her name, and the motives which have compelled her to afflict her victim, and the terms on which she will be appeased.

The belief in witchcraft is common to almost all classes in India; but the *Bhills*, from their wildness and ignorance, are deeply tinctured with this superstition. They are, consequently, never without *Barwás* of their own tribe, with whom they consult on all occasions, but particularly when about to undertake a plundering expedition; and they almost invariably abide by the advice of these oracles. The *Barwás* of the poorer *Bhills* differ, in some respects, from the others. They do not require, for their excitement, any music, beyond "the clashing of stones."

It has been stated, that almost every tribe of *Bhills* has an account of its origin, of similar character to the one before mentioned; but I have remarked one important fact, that these traditions, which have been evidently fabricated to minister to the pride of chiefs, whose ancestors have been degraded from the higher and privileged orders, on account of their spurious birth, or some impure habit of life, have always a reference to *Bhills*, who existed previous to the date of the fable; and this evidence tends, beyond all others, to prove the title of the latter to antiquity, as an original tribe. I select from my papers the following short account of a class, termed the *Mehirz Bhills*, from their being settled on the banks of the riv[er] *Mehí*.

"Jagdéö (Yajnyadéva), one of the former Rájás of *Dhár*, was a lineal descendant of the ancient family of the *Püärs*. He had four brothers, with whose aid he attempted to build a fort at *Mándú*: but all their efforts were unsuccessful; for, as soon as a portion was built up, it fell to the ground. This had happened several times; when one night the goddess Hallaka Déví appeared to Jagdéö in a dream, and said, that unless one of the brothers would make a sacrifice of the head of his son, and his son's wife, they would never accomplish their object. Jagdéö, on waking next morning, repeated the dream to his brothers, whom he assembled for the purpose

* For a full account of the *Dhákans*, vide Central India, Vol. II. p. 212, &c.

"of deciding what was to be done. One of them said, 'Assuredly, we "have not that urgent occasion for a fort, that we should sacrifice the lives "of one of our sons, and his wife, to obtain it.' Jagdéö, after hearing this "speech, in which all his brothers acquiesced, said, 'I will give the head, "of my son and his wife;' and did so the same night. Hallaka Déví told "him, that the fort should be completed before the next morning, which "was done accordingly. After this extraordinary event, only one of the "brothers would remain with Jagdéö. The other three left him, observ-"ing, that he was, from having made the sacrifice, sole master of the fort, "and that they had, by their hesitation, forfeited all right to share in that "possession, or to participate in his power, as Prince of *Mándú* and *Dhár*. "They continued wanderers, for some time, principally occupying them-"selves with the chace. The *Mehí* river, being informed of their depar-"ture, appeared before them in the shape of a wild hog, in order to allure "them towards a part of the country, where she desired they should settle. "The brothers gave chace, but, after a long ride, lost sight of their game. "One of them, named Uncháráwad, being thirsty, went in search of "water. He came to a hut, where he found some brass pots, ready filled; "and from seeing the spot quite clear of wood, he concluded that it must "belong to some person of high caste, and drank of the water. Another "brother came, for the same purpose; but, previously to drinking, he asked "to whom the pots belonged. Uncháráwad said, he did not know; but "having enquired of some children, who were playing, they were informed "that the house belonged to a *Bhill*. The brother who came last, said to "Uncháráwad, 'As you have drunk the water, you have lost your caste, "and become the same as a *Bhill*, therefore we cannot live together as "formerly.' Uncháráwad, being, by this accident, degraded to the condi-"tion of a *Bhill*, adopted their usages, and became their leader; and in "commemoration of his having been brought by the *Mehí* river, he and "all his followers adopted the name of *Mehira Bhills*, by which they are, to "this day, distinguished. Shortly after this event, he built a fort, which "was called *Uchánghar*, or the fort of *Ucháng*."

The plain fact of this story is, that a brother of one of the former Princes of *Dhár*, fled to the woods, and lost his caste, from associating with *Bhills*, of whom he became a leader.

The same pride, which has given rise to this fable, has led to the establishment of different castes, and distinctions, among the *Bhills*. The *Ujjwala*

and *Kálá*, or white and black *Bhills*, are general terms; not applying to a difference in the shade of complexion, but in the habits of the tribes that these terms distinguish; and the words (which are used metaphorically) imply "pure" and "impure." Indeed, the word "*Mailá*," which literally means unclean, is often used to denote the latter tribe. The *Ujjwala*, or pure *Bhills*, trace their descent from the *Rajputs*; and are, in several parts, called *Bhillálas*. Many of these not only preserve the names of their forefathers, but the clan name of the peculiar tribe, to which they belonged, before their degradation. In writing a list of the different tribes of *Bhills*, settled in the principality of *Jabuah*, the names of many of the Hindu military caste were found. This induced a query as to the cause of *Bhills* being distinguished by family names, such as *Rhatóre*, *Chóhán*, *Súlankí*, &c. The answer from a chief, skilled in their legends, was the following short fable:

"In former times, when Parasu Ráma (*Avatára*) declared a war of "extirpation upon the *Rajputs* (in revenge for an offence against his father), "numbers of that tribe were obliged to save themselves, by denying that "they belonged to it, professing to be members of other classes of the "community. To punish this evasion, Parasu Ráma insisted that every "individual should eat the food of the tribe, to which he declared himself "to belong. Those *Rajputs*, who did so, lost their caste, and were obliged "to adhere to the tribes of their adoption, but retained their former name;" and this (said the old man) accounts for your finding men who call themselves *Rhatóres*, *Súlankís*, &c. amongst the *Bhills*, and many other low castes,* with whom their ancestors, when in dread of extirpation, associated.

The pure *Bhills* (as they term themselves) pretend to keep up a distinction from others, on many points, and particularly in diet. They refrain from carrion, and animals that have died a natural death, which impure *Bhills* eat; and many families amongst them will not partake of the flesh of the cow. The consequence of this abstinence is, that some *Rajputs* will drink water from the vessels, and eat in the houses, of these *Bhills*; and the latter, flattered by this approximation, assume, as far as their condition permits, the habits and customs of other Hindus. On these, therefore, it is

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* Some of these degraded *Rajputs* are found among the *Tílís*, or oil-men, and the *Baláyas*, or guides; and even, I am informed, among the *Chamárs*, or shoe-makers, who are deemed the vilest and most unclean of the Hindu community.

not necessary to dwell. My chief purpose is, to describe the usages of the original and unmixed *Bhills;* but of these also there are many tribes, and classes.

Near *Adyantí*, and on part of the *Sátpúrá* range, there are many Mahomedan *Bhills*, who appear to be a portion of this people, that have been converted to the faith of Mahomed, and were, at one period, probably reclaimed from those plundering habits, into which they relapsed, as the Government became weak and distracted. This tribe would seem, from my information, to know little of their professed religion but the name, and to be as ignorant and superstitious, as the rest of their brethren.

In every province, where *Bhills* are established, I have found the names of tribes, or rather families, increase in the ratio that enquiry was pursued. The slightest circumstances with them, as with other unsettled races of men, give rise to such a distinction. The name of an ancestor, a dispute in the tribe, which causes the separation of a branch of it, a favourite spot of residence, a wonted signal,—any thing, in short, gives rise to a name, which is perpetuated, and forms a tie of brotherhood, long after its origin is forgotten. I heard of a small tribe, known by the name of *Kókú Bhills*, which, I was told, had been adopted from their established signal, on plundering expeditions, being like the crowing of a cock. After this explanation, it is unnecessary to give a list of these tribes; though I obtained several of those that inhabited the different countries under my charge, as I deemed such minute knowledge useful, in the exercise of local administration.

There are, even among the *Maila*, or impure *Bhills*, some essential distinctions. Those settled on the *Nermada*, speak with detestation of other classes (particularly that denominated *Náb**), which dwell in the *Sátpúrá* ranges.

I made every effort to obtain some written record of the *Bhills*, that might throw light upon their origin, and peculiar habits, but without success. Several heads of tribes on the *Nermada*, assured me, that such records existed, as they had heard their chief *Rawels*, or priests, who come from *Marwar*, read accounts from books; but enquiry led me to conclude, that the books referred to, were no more than those genealogical accounts †

* An intelligent *Bhill* assured me, that some of the *Sátpúrá Bhills* had a language peculiar to themselves, but I have doubts of the fact. It is, however, a subject that merits enquiry.

† I have given a particular account of these genealogical works, in the Memoir of Central India, Vol. I. p. 516–550.

which are kept by the priests and minstrels of the *Rajputs*, of every tribe of Central India, to gratify the pride, and regulate the marriages, of the principal families.

The language of the *Bhills*, of the *Vindhya* range, and those of *Nemar*, differs, in no material degree, from that of the peasantry of the country; but from their being uneducated, and living (with the exception of the village *Bhills*, who are described in the Memoir of Central India) amid wilds and mountains, they speak a very rude dialect. The usages of this race merit particular notice. The following account * of the ceremonies at the births, marriages, and funerals, of the tribes on the banks of the *Nermada*, is believed to be accurate.

Ceremonies at the Birth of a Child.

When a *Bhill* child is born, it is bathed in warm water, and a name is immediately given it, by the women who have acted as midwives on the occasion. On the fifth day after the delivery, a great rejoicing takes place, among the members of the family, and their relations. During the day, the child and its mother are bathed in warm water; and in the evening, all the relations assemble. Wheat, flour, arrack (distilled from the *Mahua*† tree), some red lead, a mixture called *kúnkú*, turmeric, and cocoa-nuts, are previously prepared. The ceremony commences by the mother of the child plaistering a part of the floor, immediately outside of the threshold of the hut, with cow-dung and turmeric, on which she places five small pebbles, corresponding with the number of days, since the infant has been born, and to these pebbles she performs *pújá*, or worship, by sprinkling them with red lead, *kúnkú*, and grain, and breaking a cocoa-nut in pieces. She next places some of that fruit near the five pebbles, on which a libation of arrack is poured. After this, a repast of bread and cakes is prepared, of which all partake; and the night is passed in carousing and rejoicing. During this festivity, the sexes do not intermingle, but remain separate; the men smoking and drinking, in one place, and the women singing, beating the *d'hól* (a small drum), and drinking, in another, till morning ends the merriment of the fifth day.‡

* I am indebted for this account to Capt. R. Shears (the officer who had the superintendance of these tribes).

† Bassia latifolia.

‡ This account of the woman joining in the ceremony, at so early a period after her confinement,

On the twelfth day, another ceremony takes place. On this day, th
other of the infant, with her female relations, proceeds to a river, strean
ol, or well, where rites are performed to the water-god, or spirit (*Jal*
va, as he is called). The ceremonies are as follow: In the hut, where th
oman has lain in, a dish called *khichrí* is prepared, made with *jowára*,* c
jra,† boiled with *múng-dál*.‡ Some of the *khichrí* is then put upon
ass dish, on which are also placed twelve lighted lamps, to correspon
ith the number of days, since the birth of the child. These lamps ar
ade of wheat-flour, kneaded into paste; and of the same paste twelve sma
kes are also made. In addition to these, red lead, *kúnkú*, cocoa-nu
d a mixture, made of five different kinds of grain, and of turmeric, beate
to a powder, which is dissolved in water, are placed upon the brass dis
hich, with its contents, forming, what is called in *Nemar*, the *artí*,
rried by one of the women, the whole of whom, with the mother of th
ild, go in procession, singing, and beating the *d'hól*, and accompanie
any other instrumental music that they can procure, towards the ap
inted stream, at the edge of which, when the party arrives, the mother
e child arranges the lamps. The cakes are placed in a second line, p
llel to that of the lamps, and a little of the *khichrí* is put on each
em; after which, the mother performs worship to the water-god, in th
llowing manner. Red lead, and *kúnkú*, are thrown by her into the wate
d also on the twelve lamps, upon which some of the five different kind
grain, mixed with turmeric and water, is also thrown. A fire is the
ndled before the lamps, and oil poured in it. The party afterwards pr
eed home, where they feast upon *khichrí* and oil; after which they brea
p, and this finishes the business of the twelfth day.

Marriage Ceremonies of the Bhills.

The fixing of a marriage between a young couple is managed entire
y their relations. When the parents desire to marry their son, they sen
me friends to the parents of the girl, whom they wish to become the
n's bride. These make proposals, and present some (*gur*) raw sugar an
rack, which (if partaken of) shows, that the proposals are accepte

ent, may appear extraordinary to an European, but not to any one who has been in India, a
tnessed the rapid recovery of females after child-birth.

* Holcus sorghum † Holcus spicatus.

‡ *Mudga-dala*; Phaseolus mungo.

After this, the parents of the intended bridegroom, taking with them five or six sers of sugar (*gur*), or as many pots of arrack, a new petticoat, a cloth, a rupee, and a cocoa-nut, proceed on a lucky day,* accompanied by the intended bridegroom himself, and all the male and female members of the family, to the house of the bride, where, in expectation of their coming, an entertainment has been prepared, according to the circumstances of the parties. If rich, the food consists of boiled rice, *dál*,† and *ghí*;‡ and if poor, of bread made of *jowára* flour, *dál*, and oil of *til* (sesamum). The mother of the girl, then carries to her daughter the presents brought for her; and attiring her in the petticoat and cloth, puts some *kúnkú* on her forehead. The whole party then assemble in the girl's apartment, where they partake of the entertainments prepared for them; and after quaffing large potations of the arrack, return to their respective dwellings. The young couple are, from that day, considered as regularly betrothed. The celebration of the marriage is afterwards fixed, according to circumstances, and opportunity. The commencement of these ceremonies always takes place on Sunday, previous to which the bridegroom and bride have, for several days, their bodies well rubbed with oil,§ and perform ablutions with warm water. During the whole of this week, till next Sunday, the bridegroom and bride, with their respective relations, male and female, in two distinct parties, go every night to pay visits to their neighbours. After these visits, one of the females of both parties, carries a brass plate, in which are a lighted lamp, some *kúnkú*, and grain. The master of each house, or hut, gives to the bridegroom or bride, as they respectively happen to come, presents of a cocoa-nut, or money amounting to a few *pice* (a copper coin), and taking from the brass dish some *kúnkú*, put it on their foreheads. On the last day (Saturday), a *mandha* (or booth) is erected at the houses of both the bridegroom and bride, by their parents. The *mandha* of the bridegroom must be erected on nine posts; and that of the bride upon twelve. In each of these *mandhas*, the bridegroom and bride's male relations bathe in warm water, and partake of victuals and arrack. At night the men retire, and

* The *Bhat*, or minstrel, is always acquainted with the lucky and unlucky days; but these seldom possess the almanacks, used by the Hindu priests of villages, in which they are all inserted.

† A species of Indian vetch.

‡ Clarified butter.

§ This word is, in the original, *chechra*, which signifies a particular oil.

make room for the women, who pass the night in drinking and singing. On these occasions, it is thought a great disgrace, if there should be any deficiency of arrack.

On the Saturday morning, the bridegroom, if he can afford it, is dressed in a red turban, of the value of two or three rupees; a jacket of white cloth, of the value of one or two rupees; and a pair of short white trowsers, of the value of eight or ten *annas*.* When dressed, he is conducted by his parents and relations, accompanied by vocal music, to the *mandha* of the bride, whose parents meet the bridegroom's party about half-way, and conduct them to the *mandha*. As this, however, is never made large enough to contain all the company, separate places are assigned to them, where they pass the day in eating and drinking. At night, they all assemble, and seat themselves, in distinct groupes, around the *mandha*: the bridegroom's party being on one side, and that of the bride on another; leaving a space in the middle, where the bridegroom and bride are afterwards seated, opposite, but nigh to each other. A piece of painted pasteboard, with tassels appended to it (of the value of about four rupees), is then tied on each side of their foreheads, by their respective female relations, the nearest of whom unite the hands of the young couple, which completes the ceremony. The whole of the company pass the night in singing and drinking, as usual; and the next morning, the bridegroom conducts to his house his bride, who is then separated from her own family.

Inferior Marriages, called Natra.

When a man wishes to contract a marriage with a widow, without incurring trouble and expense, he sends some of his friends to urge his suit with the woman, or with her parents, or relations. If his proposals are accepted, the suitor is desired to bring to the house of his intended bride, such presents as he can afford; which are, usually, a petticoat of coarse chintz, a cloth, a sort of bodice, a necklace of beads, two pots of arrack, sixteen sers † of roasted pease, and two sers of *gur*, or raw sugar. The match is then considered settled. The visit must be made on a Saturday night. The man takes with him friends, and requisites to form an entertainment, of which the woman's friends, and his own, partake. The woman dresses herself in the clothes brought to her, and she and her new spouse, after the departure

* *Anna*, one-sixteenth of a rupee. † A *Ser* is nearly two pounds.

of the guests, pass the night together. According to long established custom, the new married pair are obliged to leave the house before day-break, and pass the next day in the fields, in some solitary place, about the distance of three or four miles from the village, and they must not return till the dusk of the evening. Their friends, however, send them meat and drink. The necessity of the new married couple passing the first day of their marriage, like outcasts, at a distance from any human habitation, is to mark that sense of degradation, which all the natives of Hindustan entertain against a woman, marrying a second husband. That even the wild and ignorant *Bhills* should be affected by this fastidiousness, would appear somewhat like a proof of the sentiment being less allied to a feeling of delicacy, than to some ancient national usage; for it is not likely, that the modern *Bhill* could have copied this extraordinary custom from the Brahmenical institutions.

These second marriages are, most frequently, preceded, amongst the *Bhills*, by an elopement of the parties; which, generally, ends in the pardon of the parents and relations, who are appeased by the seasonable application of some presents. When such connections are formed by the inhabitants of villages, a fixed fine is paid to the *Patéls*, or head men, and this constitutes part of their dues.

Funeral Ceremonies of the Bhills.

The *Bhills* always bury their dead (a very marked distinction from the Brahmenical practice of burning). The corpse is wrapt in a shroud of new coarse white cloth, and borne on a bier made of bamboos, or any kind of sticks. This is carried by some of the relations of the deceased to the usual burying-ground, which is always on the bank of a stream. Here the shroud is taken off, and the body (if that of a woman) is washed; and the shroud being again put on, the corpse is interred in a grave, three or four feet deep. The head of the corpse is laid to the south. The bier, and the clothes worn by the deceased, before his death, are thrown away, as being impure. All the family, and such of the tribe as are in the vicinity, attend the funeral; and after the body is interred, they purify themselves by ablutions. It is the custom for the female relations of the deceased, to observe a course of lamentations for five days. They commence their wailings in the mornings, keep them up for about a quarter of an hour, and then resume their domestic occupations. On the fifth day, ceremonies are

performed to the memory of the deceased. On this occasion, some wheat flour (not less than two sers), half a ser of rice, a small quantity of *ghí*, and some arrack, are prepared by the male relations of the deceased, and carried by them to a stream. Two of the relations perform the ceremonies of ablution, a third toasts cakes, while a fourth arranges, along the bank, five cups, made of the broad leaves of the *Palás* * tree; and by the side of these cups, which are filled with water, are placed, in a parallel line, five cakes of bread. On the latter, rice is strewed, and arrack is sprinkled upon the rice. A small fire is afterwards kindled, and set in a blaze, by *ghí* being put in it. The water is then thrown out of the cups, and things being left in this condition, the party partake of the food, drink the arrack, and then return home.

Another ceremony, exclusive of the above, generally takes place to the memory of the deceased. It ought, properly, to be on the twelfth day; but in case of that being inconvenient, it may be performed at any time, within the twelvemonth. It is a feast to guests, who are invited, in the name of the deceased, to partake of the best fare that their entertainers can give.

Settlement of Disputes.

Disputes, of a trifling nature, amongst the *Bhills*, are, in general, amicably settled by the heads of families. Should a *Bhill* kill another, of a different tribe, or family, he must be adjudged by a *Panchâyat*, or Court of Arbitration, of the most respectable of the different *hatis*, or *Bhill* villages, near the place where the murder was committed. Efforts are always made to compound every crime, even murder, by fines; and the price of blood is generally given to the family of the man that has been killed. The sum is proportioned to the circumstances of the offender; sometimes, it does not amount to more than ten or twelve rupees; at others, several head of cattle are given. There is, however, often great difficulty in compounding for a murder; and as it is deemed against usage, to put a man to death, in cold blood, the cause of revenge is left to the relations of the man that has been murdered; and, in such cases, blood-feuds are often commenced, which continue for many years, and, sometimes, for generations. Consequently, one murder, amongst this wild race, is usually attended with the loss of many lives, beyond that of the individual by whom it was perpetrated.

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* Butea frondosa.

The mountain *Bhills* live in small clusters of rude huts, which are to the north of the *Nermada*, termed *párás*,* and to the south, *hatís*. They are under the authority of a *Náyaca*, or *Tarwí*, whose power resembles that of the *Patél*. A number of these small colonies are often united in general obedience to one chief, who has a title according to his class, and the usages of the country. Almost all the *Bhill* leaders, immediately south of the *Nermada*, are termed *Náyacas*; while those on its north bank, are called *Bhúmíyas*: but in these titles, there is an endless variety, dependent on family, rank, local circumstances, and ancient usages.

There is a natural spirit of independence in the mountain *Bhills*, which compels chiefs, who have a desire to establish an authority that supersedes that of the *Tarwís* of small colonies, to entertain followers from a distant country. Besides, when the sphere of plunder is extended to any distance from their native wilds, the *Bhills* are not so fit for such enterprises, as many others of the predatory tribes. Their arms, and their habits, are more suited to the ravines, the woods, and the mountains, amid which they live. The *Bhill* is small of stature, but active, and capable of enduring great fatigue. He has seldom any clothing, but a small piece of cloth round his waist. His arms are a bow and a quiver of arrows, in the use of which he is very expert; but he seldom faces his enemy. His arrows are shot from behind bushes and rocks; and his acquaintance with the country, makes him almost always successful in eluding pursuit. If he descends into th eplain, it is at night, to thieve and plunder; or if in the day, to drive away unguarded cattle, or to attack defenceless travellers, who (if not killed) are kept, till they are ransomed.

The cultivating classes of *Bhills* have been elsewhere noticed,† as differing in their usages from their brethren, who inhabit the mountains. The latter, however, are always, in some degree, dependent upon the neighbouring villages, in the plain, particularly for tobacco, of which, as well as liquor,‡ they are immoderately fond. They also require grain, for they cultivate little, and that in the rudest manner, merely by breakiug the soil to receive the seed; but I found them quite acquainted with the value of

* *Párá* is an Hindustani word, corresponding to the Persian word *Mahal*, a ward, or division, of a town.

† Vide Central India, Vol. II. p. 179.

‡ I have often given liquor to *Bhills*, and have invariably noticed, that before they drank it, they poured a libation on the ground. When asked the reason, they replied, it was usage.

hes, as a manure, which they make of the wood cut down to clear th
lds they cultivate.

They often possess cattle, and, when at peace with the inhabitants of th
ain, they breed fowls in great numbers, the sale of which is a source
ofit.

From a census * taken of the *Bhill* population, of the *Vindhya* range,
peared, that there were not more than six to the square mile. This ca
lation may, perhaps, be applied to this race, over all the countries i
hich they dwell. Their exposure to the elements, the hazards they dail
cur, their poverty, and the contagious distempers to which they are li
e, have operated against their increase; but the change, recently effecte
the condition of many of these tribes, will, no doubt, tend to augmen
eir numbers.

Sufficient has been said to illustrate the habits, and manners, of the *Bhill*
few words will complete the picture of this extraordinary race, as far a
lates to their past, and present, condition. Existing, as they have hithert
one, under despotic governments, which placed them beyond the pale o
vil society, and which not only gave them no encouragement, or prote
on, but authorized the lowest of the fiscal officers to take their live
ithout trial, considering themselves a proscribed and contemned rac
norant to a deplorable degree, believing in witchcraft, blindly obedient t
e orders of their chiefs, subject to extraordinary privations, and constantl
posed to danger from their fellow-creatures, and from the ferocity of th
ild beasts, with whom they shared the forests, the *Bhills* have, in conse
ence, become the enemies of order and peace. They have cherishe
edatory habits, as the means of subsistence; and receiving no mercy, o
nsideration, they have sought, from natural impulse, to revenge th
rongs they have sustained. Time has interwoven their habits of life, an
elings, with their superstitions, until they actually believe, that they wer
eated to prey upon their neighbours. "I am *Mahádéva's* thief," is th
mmon answer of a *Bhill*, detected in a crime; and his promise of amend
ent is usually so qualified, as to period,† that it seems more like a truce
an a pact of permanent good conduct. Nevertheless, from what ha

* Vide Central India, Vol. II. p. 223.

† "I will not rob, during your *ráj* (government)," was the invariable answer I received fro
Bhill, when I desired a pledge of future good conduct.

occurred, since this tribe became subject to the British Government, we may anticipate a gradual, and, ultimately, a complete, change in their character and condition. The men, though habituated to a life of rapine, are not sanguinary; and the females of the tribe, who possess great influence over them,* are of kind dispositions: and many of them are intelligent and industrious.

To reclaim this race (I speak from much reflection, and considerable experience), they must be treated with great attention to their prejudices and condition. Reform with them, as with all such classes, must commence with their superiors. We cannot break the link, by which they are attached to their chiefs; and if we could, it would not be wise, or desirable, to do so. We must endeavour, by every act, to elevate the *Bhills* in the community, and to raise them in their own esteem, or else we cannot succeed in altering their habits. We must, by making roads through their hills and forests, by employing them in honest occupations, by establishing markets for the produce of the tracts they inhabit, bring this race into daily and familiar intercourse with those, among whom they live. When compelled to punish their outrages, the punishment falls on the leader, and not on the devoted follower, who executes a crime by his command. While we use preventive means to check and eradicate their evil habits, we must temper our firmness with mercy, taking care, however, that certain rules should never be infringed, and that protection and punishment should be alike certain, when merited. But above all, the object should be, to give to this hitherto injured race, a stake in the general prosperity; and then, and not before, we may rest satisfied that they will become the defenders, instead of the disturbers, of the general welfare. These are not idle speculations. The system here recommended has been acted upon,† and the

* The *Bhill* women have better habits than the men; but, in justice to the latter, I must say, that I have seen singular instances of affection, and attachment to their families. During the pursuit of some *Bhills*, who had committed a robbery and murder, near *Nalcha*, their wives and children were discovered, by the cries of a child hid in a cavern, under some rocks. They were brought prisoners to me. I received them kindly, and having consulted with them what was best to be done, to induce the men to submission, I adopted the suggestion of an elderly female, wife of one of the principal men, and allowed several of the prisoners to join their fathers, and husbands, with whom they soon returned; and a very short negociation produced the unconditional surrender of the whole party.

† Vide Central India, Vol. II. p. 179, &c.

Bhills, on the right bank of the *Nermada*, as well as in many other parts, are now living in a state of peace and tranquillity; and countries, through which (a few years back) an army was hardly a safe escort from their robberies, are now traversed by unarmed individuals. But we must not deceive ourselves, in thinking the effect will continue, when the cause is removed. Years must pass, before we shall be secure from the relapse of these, and other predatory tribes, into their former habits, if we relax in those measures, by which they have been reclaimed, and by which alone they can be kept in their improved condition.

VII. *Essay on the Philosophy of the Hindus. Part II.* By Henry Thomas Colebrooke, *Esq. Director R. A. S. F. R. S. &c. &c.*

Read February 21, 1824.

In the preceding essay, the *Sánc'hya*, theistical as well as atheistical, was examined. The subject of the present essay, will be the dialectic philosophy of Gótama, and atomical of Canáde, respectively called *Nyáya* "reasoning," and *Vaiśéshica* "particular." The first, as its title implies, is chiefly occupied with the metaphysics of logic; the second with physics: that is, with "particulars" or sensible objects: and hence its name. They may be taken generally, as parts of one system: supplying each other's deficiencies: commonly agreeing upon such points as are treated by both: yet on some differing; and therefore giving origin to two schools, the *Naiyáyica*, and *Vaiśéshica*.

From these have branched various subordinate schools of philosophy; which, in the ardor of scholastic disputation, have disagreed on matters of doctrine or of interpretation. The ordinary distinction between them is that of ancients and moderns; besides appellations derived from the names of their favourite authors, as will be more particularly noticed in another place.

The text of Gótama is a collection of *sútras* or succinct aphorisms, in five books or "lectures;" each divided into two "days" or diurnal lessons; and these again subdivided into sections or articles, termed *pracaraṅas*, as relating to distinct topics. It is a maxim, that a section is not to consist of so little as a single *sútra*; and to make good the rule, some stress is occasionally put upon the text; either splitting an aphorism, or associating it incongruously.

Canáde's collection of *sútras* is comprised in ten lectures, similarly divided into two daily lessons, and these into *pracaraṅas*, or sections, containing two or more *sútras*, relative to the same topic.

Like the text of other sciences among the *Hindus*, the *sútras* of Gótama and of Canáde have been explained and annotated by a triple set of commentaries, under the usual titles of *Bháshya*, *Vártica*, and *Tícá*. These (the *Bháshya* especially) are repeatedly cited by modern commentators, as well as by writers of separate treatises; but (so far as has come under my

immediate notice) without naming the authors; and I cannot adventure, having no present opportunity of consulting the original scholia in a collective form, to assign them to their proper authors, from recollection of former researches.

They are of high authority, and probably of great antiquity: and it frequently becomes a question with the later commentators, whether a particular passage is to be taken for a *sútra* and part of the text, or for a gloss of the ancient scholiast.

Commentaries, which are now at hand, and which have been consulted in the course of preparing the present treatise, are the *Vártica-tátparya-pariśudd'hi* of the celebrated Udayanáchárya; and the *Vártica-tátparya-ticá* of the no less celebrated Váchespati-miśra. The more modern scholia of Viśwanát'ha upon Gótama's text, and Sancara-miśra upon Canáde's, are those to which most frequent reference has been made, for the present purpose.

Separate treatises of distinguished authors teach, and amply discuss, the elements of the science. Such are the *Nyáya-lilávati* of Ballabha-áchárya, following chiefly Canáde's system.

An easier, and more concise, introduction, than these abstruse and voluminous works afford, is found requisite to the initiatory study of the science. One of the most approved elementary treatises is the *Tarca-bháshá* of Césava-miśra, author of many other tracts. Though adapted to the comprehension of the learner without the aid of a gloss, it has nevertheless employed the labour of many commentators, expounding and illustrating it. Among others may be named, in order of seniority, Góverd'hana-miśra in the *Tarca-bháshá-pracása*; Gauricánta (author likewise of the *Sadyucti-muctávali*) in the *Bhávárt'ha-dípicá*; Mád'havadéva (author of the *Nyáya-sára*) in the *Tarca-bháshá-sára-manjarí*; besides Rámalinga-criti in the *Nyáya-sangraha*, whose relative antiquity is less certain; and Balibhadra, who is known to me only from Gauricánta's citations.

Another compendious introduction to the study of Indian logic is the *Padárt'ha-dípicá* by Cónda-bhatta, a noted grammarian, author of the *Vaiyácaraña-bhúshaña* on the philosophy of grammatical structure. It does not appear to have had any commentator; and it needs none.

Metrical treatises, or memorial verses, comprising the elements of the science, bear the ordinary denomination of *Cáricá*. A work of this description is the *Cusumánjali*, with its commentary, by Náráyaña-tírt'ha; an-

other, which likewise is expounded by its author, is the *Nyáya-sancshépa* of Góvinda-bhattácharya.

Elementary works only have been here spoken of. Distinct treatises, on divers branches of the whole subject, and on various emergent topics, are innumerable. No department of science, or literature, has more engaged the attention of the Hindus, than the *Nyáya;* and the fruit of their lucubrations has been an infinity of volumes, among which are compositions of very celebrated schoolmen.

The order observed both by Gótama and by Canáde, in delivering the precepts of the science which they engage to unfold, is that which has been intimated in a passage of the *Védas,* cited in the *Bháshya,* as requisite steps of instruction and study: *viz.* enunciation, definition, and investigation. Enunciation, (*uddéśa*) is the mention of a thing by its name; that is, by a term signifying it, as taught by revelation: for language is considered to have been revealed to man. Definition, (*lacshańa*) sets forth a peculiar property, constituting the essential character of a thing. Investigation, (*paricshá*) consists in disquisition upon the pertinence and sufficiency of the definition. Consonantly to this, the teachers of philosophy premise the terms of the science; proceed to the definitions; and then pass on to the examination of subjects so premised.

In a logical arrangement the "predicaments" (*padárt'ha*), or "objects of proof," are six; as they are enumerated by Canáde;* *viz.* substance, quality, action, community, particularity, and aggregation or intimate relation: to which a seventh is added by other authors; privation or negation.† Thus augmented, they compose a two-fold arrangement, positive and negative, (*bháva* and *abháva*) the first comprising six, the latter one.‡

The *Baudd'has,* or followers of Budd'ha, are said to identify the predicaments with knowledge (*jnyána*); and according to the *Védántís,* who are pantheists, the predicaments are identified with the universal being (*Brahme*) in whom all exists.§

Other categories are alleged by different authorities; as power or energy (*śacti*); similarity or resemblance (*sádrĭsya*); and many more. But the logicians of this school acknowledge but six; or at most seven, abovementioned.

* C. 1. 3.
† *Tarc. Bhásh.* 1.
‡ *Pad. Díp.* 1.
§ *Tarc. Bhásh.* and *N. Sang.* 2. 4.

Gótama enumerates sixteen heads or topics: among which, proof or evidence, and that which is to be proven, are chief; and the rest are subsidiary or accessory, as contributing to knowledge and ascertainment of truth. Disputation being contemplated in this arrangement, several among these heads relate to controversial discussion. They are, 1st. proof; 2d. that which is to be known and proven; 3d. doubt; 4th. motive; 5th. instance; 6th. demonstrated truth; 7th. member of a regular argument or syllogism; 8th. reasoning by reduction to absurdity; 9th. determination or ascertainment; 10th. thesis or disquisition; 11th. controversy; 12th. objection; 13th. fallacious reason; 14th. perversion; 15th. futility; 16th. confutation.*

The difference between these two arrangements is not considered to amount to discrepancy. They are held to be reconcileable: the one more ample, the other more succinct; but both leading to like results.

The *Sánc'hya* philosophy, as shewn in a former essay, affirms two eternal principles, soul and matter; (for *pracrĭti* or nature, abstracted from modifications, is no other than matter:) and reckoning, with these two permanent principles, such as are transient, they enumerate twenty-five.

The *Nyáya*, as well as the *Sánc'hya*, concur with other schools of psychology, in promising beatitude, or (*nihśréyas*) final excellence, and (*mócsha*) deliverance from evil, for the reward of a thorough knowledge of the principles which they teach; that is, of truth; meaning the conviction of the soul's eternal existence separable from body.

Soul then, as the *Bháshya* affirms, is that which is to be known and proven. Gótama, however, enumerates under this head, besides soul, its associate body, the external senses, things or the objects of sense, (that is, the elements, and his followers here take occasion to introduce Canáde's six categories), intellect or understanding, mind or the eternal organ, activity, fault, transmigration, fruit or consequence of deeds, pain or physical evil, and lastly, liberation; making, together with soul, twelve (*praméya*) objects of proof, being topics of knowledge requisite for deliverance.

I. Evidence or proof (*pramáńa*) by which those objects are known and demonstrated, is of four kinds: perception; inference of three sorts, (con-

* G. 1.

sequent, antecedent, and analogous); comparison, and affirmation (comprehending tradition, as well as revelation). Inference *à priori* concludes an effect from its cause; inference *à posteriori* deduces a cause from its effect: another ground of inference is analogy. Or one sort is direct and affirmative; another indirect or negative; and the third is both direct and indirect.

Proof (*pramáńa*) is defined to be the efficient or especial cause of actual knowledge: and this intends right notion (*anubhava*); exclusive, consequently, of wrong notion, as error, doubt, and reduction to absurdity; and likewise exclusive of memory: for notion (*anubhava*) is knowledge other than remembrance.

Cause (*cárańa*) is that which is efficacious, necessarily preceding an effect that cannot else be: and, conversely, effect (*cárya*) is that which necessarily ensues and could not else be.

For the relation of cause and effect, and for distinguishing different sorts of cause, connexion (*sambandha*) or relation, in general, must be considered. It is two-fold: simple conjunction (*sanyóga*), and aggregation or intimate and constant relation (*samaváya*); the latter being the connexion of things, whereof one, so long as they coexist, continues united with the other: for example, parts and that which is composed of them; as yarn and cloth: for so long as the yarn subsists, the cloth remains. Here the connexion of the yarn and cloth is intimate relation: but that of the loom is simple conjunction. Consonantly to this distinction, cause is intimate or direct, producing aggregation or an intimately relative effect, as clay of pottery, or yarn of cloth: or it is mediate or indirect, being proximate to the aggregating cause, as conjunction of yarn serving for the production of cloth: or thirdly, it is neither direct nor indirect, but instrumental or concomitant, as the loom. Of positive things there must be three causes; and the most efficacious is termed the chief or especial cause: of negative there is but one, which is the third abovementioned.

This would be the place for an ample discussion of the several sorts of proof abovementioned. But they are topics embracing too great a scope of disquisition in the Hindu philosophy, to be adequately considered within the limits of the present essay. The subject, therefore, is reserved for future consideration, in a connected view of it, with relation to the various Indian systems of philosophising, after they shall have been severally examined.

II. 1. The first and most important of twelve objects of evidence or matters to be proven, enumerated by Gótama, is soul.* It is the site of knowledge or sentiment: distinct from body and from the senses; different for each individual coexistent person; infinite; eternal; perceived by the mental organ; and demonstrated by its peculiar attributes, intellect, &c. For knowledge, desire, aversion, volition, pain and pleasure, severally and collectively, argue the existence of soul: since these are not universal attributes, as number, quantity, &c. common to all substances; but are peculiar and characteristic qualities, apprehended exclusively by one organ, as colour and other peculiar qualities are; yet belonging not to apparent substances, as earth, and the rest; and arguing therefore a distinct substratum, other than space, time and mind, to which universal, not peculiar, qualities appertain. That distinct substance, which is the substratum of those peculiar qualities, is the soul.

This concerns the living soul, (*Jívátmá*) the animating spirit of individual person. Souls then, as is expressly affirmed, are numerous. But the supreme soul (*Paramátmá*) is one: the seat of eternal knowledge; demonstrated as the maker of all things.†

The individual soul is infinite; for whithersoever the body goes, there the soul too is present. It experiences the fruit of its deeds; pain or pleasure. It is eternal, because it is infinite: for whatever is infinite, is likewise eternal; as the etherial element (*ácáśa*).

Being a substance, though immaterial, as a substratum of qualities, it is placed in Canáde's arrangement, as one of nine substances, which are there recognised.‡

It has fourteen qualities: *viz.* number, quantity, severalty, conjunction, disjunction, intellect, pleasure, pain, desire, aversion, volition, merit, demerit, and faculty of imagination.

2. The second among matters to be proven in Gótama's enumeration, is body. It is the site of effort; of organs of sensation; and of sentiment of pain or pleasure.§

It is an ultimate compound; the seat of soul's enjoyment. It is a whole, composed of parts; a framed substance, not inchoative: associated with

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* G. 1. 1. 3. 2. and 3. 1. 1—5. *Tarc. Bhásh.* 2. 1.

† *Pad. Díp.* 1. 8. ‡ G. 1. § G. 1. 1. 3. 3.

which, soul experiences fruition; that is, immediate presence of pain or of pleasure, in relation to itself.

It is the site of effort; not of motion simply; but of action tending to the attainment of what is pleasing, and to the removal of what is displeasing.*

It is earthly; for the qualities of earth are perceived in it: (namely, smell, colour, solidity, &c.) and it is expressly pronounced so by more than one passage of the *Védas.* According to some opinions, it consists of three elements, earth, water, and light or heat: for the peculiar qualities of those elements are perceptible in it; since it has smell, clamminess, and warmth: or it consists of four, since there is inspiration as well as expiration of air: or of five, as indicated by odour, moisture, digestion, breath, and cavities.† Those opinions are controverted by the *Nyáya.* It consists not of five, nor of four, elements: else, as Canáde argues, it would be invisible; for the union of visible with invisible objects is so: instance wind. Nor does it consist of three visible elements, nor of two: for there is no intimate inchoative union of heterogeneous substances.‡ This last reason is alleged likewise by Capila: heterogeneous materials cannot enter into the same composition.§

Besides human and other bodies of this world, all which are terrene, there are, in other worlds, aqueous, igneous, and aerial bodies. In these, too, there is union with an element, for soul's fruition.||

Earthly body is two-fold; sexually bred, or not so bred: the first is either viviparous or oviparous: the second results from concurrence of particles by an unseen or predestined cause, and peculiar disposition of atoms. That such beings are, is proved from authority of the *Védas,* which reveal creation of gods and demi-gods.

Or the distinction is between such as are propagated by sexes, or are otherwise generated. The latter comprehends equivocal generation of worms, nits, maggots, gnats, and other vermin, considered to be bred in sweat, or fermented filth; and germination of plants sprouting from the ground. Accordingly, the distinct sorts of body are five: 1st. ungenerated;

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* *Tarc. Bhásh.* and *Com.*

† G. 3. 1. 6. 1—5.

‡ *Can.* 4. 2. 1. and *Com.*

§ *Cap.* 3. 16—18 and 5. 99.

|| *Bháshya* on *Gót.*

2d. uterine or viviparous; 3d. oviparous; 4th. engendered in filth; 5th. vegetative or germinating.*

3. Next, among objects of proof, are the organs of sensation. An organ of sense is defined as an instrument of knowledge: conjoined to the body, and imperceptible to the senses.†

There are five external organs: smell, taste, sight, touch, and hearing. They are not modifications of consciousness (as the *Sánc'hyas* maintain), but material, constituted of the elements, earth, water, light, air, and ether, respectively.‡

The pupil of the eye is not the organ of sight (as the *Baudd'has* affirm); nor is the outer ear, or opening of the auditory passage, the organ of hearing: but a ray of light, proceeding from the pupil of the eye towards the object viewed, is the visual organ; and ether, contained in the cavity of the ear, and communicating by intermediate ether with the object heard, is the organ of hearing. That ray of light is not ordinarily visible: just as the effulgence of a torch is unseen in meridian sunshine. But, under particular circumstances, a glimpse of the visual ray is obtained. For instance, in the dark, the eye of a cat or other animal prowling at night.

The organ of vision then is lucid; and in like manner, the organ of hearing is etherial; and that of taste, aqueous (as saliva); and of feeling, aerial; and of smelling, earthly.

The site of the visual organ is the pupil of the eye; of the auditory organ, the orifice of the ear; of the olfactory organ, the nostril or tip of the nose; of the taste, the tip of the tongue; of the feeling, the skin.

Objects, apprehended by the senses, are odour, flavour, colour, touch (or temperature), and sound: which are qualities appertaining to earth, water, light, air, and ether.§

The existence of organs of sense is proved by inference, from the fact of the apprehension of those objects: for apprehension implies an instrument to effect it, since it is an act, in like manner as the act of cutting implies an instrument, as an axe, or a knife.

The organs are six, including an internal organ, termed *manas*, or mind: not five only, as the followers of Budd'ha maintain, disallowing an internal

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* *Pad. Díp.* and *Mádh.* on *Cés'.* † *Tarc. Bhásh.*

‡ *Gót.* 1. 1. 3. 4—5 and 3. 1. 7 and 8.

§ *Gót.* 1. 1. 3. 6.

sense; nor so many as eleven, which the *Sánc'hyas* affirm, comprehending, with the senses, the organs of action, which they reckon five.*

Mind is the instrument, which effects the apprehension of pain, pleasure, or interior sensations; and, by its union with external senses, produces knowledge of exterior objects apprehended through them, as colour, &c. but not independently of those senses, for outward objects.

Its existence is proved by singleness of sensation: since various sensations do not arise at one time to the same soul. They only seem to do so when passing rapidly, though successively; as a firebrand, whirled with velocity, seems a ring of fire.

It is single; that is, for each soul, one: not so many minds as there are external senses. When it is conjoined with any one of the outward organs, knowledge is received through that organ: when not so conjoined, none comes through that sense, but through any other with which it then is associated.†

It is not infinite, being imperceptible to the touch, like the etherial element, as the *Mímánsa* maintains;‡ but it is minutely small, as an atom. Were it infinite, it might be united with every thing at once; and all sensations might be contemporaneous. It is imperceptible to sight, touch, and other senses, and is inferred from reasoning, as follows: There must be an instrument of apprehension of pain and pleasure; which instrument must be other than the sight, or any external sense; for pain and pleasure are experienced though sight be wanting. Such instrument of painful or pleasurable sensation is termed mind (*manas*).

It is eternal, and is distinct from soul, as well as from body: with which it is merely conjoined.

It is reckoned by Canáde among substances; and is the substratum of eight qualities, none of which are peculiar to it, being all common to other substances: *viz.* number, quantity, individuality, conjunction, disjunction, priority, subsequence, and faculty.§

4. Next in Gótama's arrangement are the (*art'ha*) objects of sense: that is, of the external senses: and he enumerates odour, taste, colour, feel, and sound, which are the peculiar qualities of earth, and the rest of the elements respectively.‖

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* *Gau.* on *Cés'.* † *Gót.* 1. 1. 3. 8. and 3. 2. 6. ‡ *Pad. Díp.*
§ *Gau.* on *Cés'.* ‖ *Gót.* 1. 3. 5.

Under this head, Césava places the categories (*padárt'ha*) of Canáde: which are six; substance, quality, &c.

I. Substance is the intimate cause of an aggregate effect or product: it is the site of qualities and of action; or that, in which qualities abide; and in which action takes place.*

Nine are enumerated; and no more are recognised. Darkness has been alleged by some philosophers; but it is no substance; nor is body a distinct one; nor gold, which the *Mímánsacas* affirm to be a peculiar substance.

Those specified by Canáde are,

1. Earth, which, besides qualities common to most substances (as number, quantity, individuality, conjunction, disjunction, priority, posteriority, gravity, fluidity, and faculty of velocity and of elasticity;) has colour, savour, odour, and feel, or temperature. Its distinguishing quality is smell: and it is succinctly defined as a substance odorous.† In some instances, as in gems, the smell is latent: but it becomes manifest by calcination.

It is eternal, as atoms; or transient, as aggregates. In either, those characteristic qualities are transitory, and are maturative, as affected by light and heat: for by union with it, whether latent or manifest, former colour, taste, smell, and temperature are in earth of any sort annulled, and other colour, &c. introduced.

Aggregates or products are either organised bodies, or organs of perception, or unorganic masses.

Organised earthly bodies are of five sorts [see body]. The organ of smell is terreous. Unorganic masses are stones, lumps of clay, &c. The union of integrant parts is hard, soft, or cumulative, as stones, flowers, cotton, &c.

2. Water, which has the qualities of earth; excepting smell, and with the addition of viscidity. Odour, when observable in water, is adscititious, arising from mixture of earthy particles.

The distinguishing quality of water is coolness. It is accordingly defined as a substance cool to the feel.

It is eternal as atoms; transient as aggregates. The qualities of the first are constant likewise; those of the latter inconstant.

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* *Can.* 1. 1. 4. 1. *Cés'.* and *Com. Pad. Díp.*

† *Can.* 2. 1. 1. 1.

Organic aqueous bodies are beings abiding in the realm of Varuńa. The organ of taste is aqueous: witness the saliva. Unorganic waters are rivers, seas, rain, snow, hail, &c.

It is by some maintained, that hail is pure water rendered solid by supervention of an unseen virtue: others imagine its solidity to be owing to mixture of earthy particles.

3. Light is coloured, and illumines other substances; and to the feel, is hot: which is its distinguishing quality. It is defined as a substance hot to the feel. [Heat, then, and light, are identified as one substance.]

It has the qualities of earth, except smell, taste, and gravity. It is eternal, as atoms; not so, as aggregates.

Organic luminous bodies are beings abiding in the solar realm. The visual ray, which is the organ of sight, is lucid [see organs of perception]. Unorganic light is reckoned fourfold: earthy, celestial, alvine, and mineral. Another distinction concerns sight and feel; as light or heat may be either latent or manifest, in respect of both sight and feel, or differently in regard to either. Thus fire is both seen and felt; the heat of hot water is felt, but not seen; moonshine is seen, but not felt; the visual ray is neither seen nor felt. Terrestrious light is that, of which the fuel is earthy, as fire. Celestial is that, of which the fuel is watery, as lightning, and meteors of various sorts. Alvine is that, of which the fuel is both earthy and watery: it is intestinal, which digests food and drink. Mineral is that, which is found in pits, as gold. For some maintain that gold is solid light; or, at least that the chief ingredient is light, which is rendered solid by mixture with some particles of earth. Were it mere earth, it might be calcined by fire strongly urged. Its light is not latent, but overpowered by the colour of the earthy particles mixed with it. In the *Mímánsá*, however, it is reckoned a distinct substance, as before observed.

4. Air is a colourless substance, sensible to the feel: being temperate (neither hot, nor cold). Besides this its distinguishing quality, it has the same common qualities with light, except fluidity (that is, number, quantity, individuality, conjunction, disjunction, priority, subsequence, and faculty of elasticity and velocity).

Its existence, as a distinct substance, is inferred from feeling. The wind, that blows, is apprehended as temperate, independently of the influence of light: and this temperature, which is a quality, implies a substratum; for it cannot subsist without one: that substratum is air; different from

water, which is cold; and from light, which is hot; and from earth, which is adventitiously warm by induction of light.

Air is either eternal as atoms, or transient as aggregates. Organic aerial bodies are beings inhabiting the atmosphere, and evil spirits (*Piśáchas*, &c.) who haunt the earth. The organ of touch is an aerial integument, or air diffused over the cuticle. Unorganic air is wind which agitates trees and other tremulous objects. To these may be added, as a fourth kind of aerial aggregates, the breath and other vital airs.

5. Ether (*ácáśa*), which is a substance that has the quality of sound. Besides that its peculiar and distinguishing quality, it has number (*viz.* unity), quantity, individuality, conjunction, and disjunction. It is infinite, one, and eternal.

The existence of an etherial element as a distinct substance, is deduced, not from distinct perception, but from inference. Sound is a peculiar quality: for, like colour and other peculiar qualities, it is apprehended by only one external organ of such beings as men are: now a quality abides in a substance which is qualified: but neither soul, nor any one of the four elements, earth, water, light, and air, can be its substratum, for it is apprehended by the organ of hearing; the qualities of earth, and the rest, are not apprehended by the hearing, but sound is; therefore it is not a quality of those substances; nor is it a quality of time, space, and mind; since it is a peculiar quality; and those three substances have none but such as are common to many: therefore a substratum, other than all these, is inferred; and that substratum is the etherial element. It is one; for there is no evidence of diversity; and its unity is congruous, as infinity accounts for ubiquity. It is infinite, because it is in effect found every where. It is eternal, because it is infinite.

It appears white, from connexion with a lucid white orb; as a rock chrystal appears red by association with a red object. The blue colour of a clear sky is derived, according to Patanjali, from the southern peak of the great mountain *Suméru*, which is composed of sapphire. On other sides of *Suméru*, the colour of the sky is different, being borrowed from the hue of the peak which overlooks that quarter. Others suppose, that the black colour of the pupil of the eye is imparted to the sky (blue and black being reckoned tinges of the same colour), as a jaundiced eye sees every object yellow.

The organ of hearing is etherial, being a portion of ether (*ácáśa*) confined

in the hollow of the ear, and (as affirmed by the author of the *Padárt'ha Dípicá*) endued with a particular and unseen virtue. In the ear of a deaf man, the portion of ether, which is there present, is devoid of that particular virtue; and therefore it is not a perfect and efficient auditory organ.

6. Time is inferred from the relation of priority and subsequence, other than that of place. It is deduced from the notions of quick, slow, simultaneous, &c., and is marked by association of objects with the sun's revolutions.

Young is the reverse of old, as old is of young. This contrast, which does not concern place, is an effect, needing a cause, other than place, &c. That cause is time.

It has the qualities of number, quantity, individuality, conjunction, and disjunction. It is one, eternal, infinite.

Though one, it takes numerous designations, as past, present, and future, with reference to acts that are so.

7. Place, or space, is inferred from the relation of priority and subsequence, other than that of time. It is deduced from the notions of *here* and *there*.

It has the same common qualities as time; and like it, is one, eternal, infinite.

Though one, it receives various designations, as east, west, north, south, &c. by association with the sun's position.

8. Soul, though immaterial, is considered to be a substance, as a substratum of qualities. It is eighth in Canáde's arrangement. In Gótama's it is first among things to be proven [see before].

9. Mind, according to Canáde, is a ninth substance; and, in Gótama's arrangement, it recurs in two places, as one of the twelve matters to be proven; and again, under the distinct head of organs of sensation, being reckoned an internal sense [see before].

Material substances, are by Canáde considered to be primarily atoms; and secondarily, aggregates. He maintains the eternity of atoms; and their existence and aggregation are explained as follows:*

The mote, which is seen in a sun-beam, is the smallest perceptible quantity. Being a substance, and an effect, it must be composed of what is less

* *Can.* 2. 2. 2. 1. *Cés'.* &c.

than itself; and this likewise is a substance and an effect; for the component part of a substance that has magnitude, must be an effect. This again must be composed of what is smaller; and that smaller thing is an atom. It is simple and uncomposed; else the series would be endless: and, were it pursued indefinitely, there would be no difference of magnitude between a mustard-seed and a mountain, a gnat and an elephant, each alike containing an infinity of particles. The ultimate atom then is simple.

The first compound consists of two atoms; for one does not enter into composition; and there is no argument to prove, that more than two must, for incohation, be united. The next consists of three double atoms; for, if only two were conjoined, magnitude would hardly ensue, since it must be produced either by size or number of particles; it cannot be their size, and therefore, it must be their number. Nor is there any reason for assuming the union of four double atoms, since three suffice to originate magnitude.* The atom then is reckoned to be the sixth part of a mote visible in a sunbeam.†

Two earthly atoms, concurring by an unseen peculiar virtue, the creative will of God, or time, or other competent cause, constitute a double atom of earth; and, by concourse of three binary atoms, a tertiary atom is produced; and, by concourse of four triple atoms, a quaternary atom; and so on, to a gross, grosser, or grossest mass of earth: thus great earth is produced; and in like manner, great water, from aqueous atoms; great light, from luminous; and great air, from aerial. The qualities, that belong to the effect, are those which appertained to the integrant part, or primary particle, as its material cause: and conversely, the qualities, which belong to the cause, are found in the effect.

The dissolution of substances proceeds inversely. In the integrant parts of an aggregate substance resulting from composition, as in the potsherds of an earthern jar, action is induced by pressure attended with velocity, or by simple pressure. Disjunction ensues; whereby the union, which was the cause of incohation of members, is annulled; and the integral substance, consisting of those members, is resolved into its parts, and is destroyed: for it ceases to subsist as a whole.

II. Quality is closely united with substance; not, however, as an in-

* *Cés'.* † *Pad. Díp.*

timate cause of it, nor consisting in motion; but common: not a genus, yet appertaining to one. It is independent of conjunction and disjunction; not the cause of them, nor itself endued with qualities.

Twenty-four are enumerated. Seventeen only are, indeed, specified in Canáde's aphorisms;* but the rest are understood.

1. Colour. It is a peculiar quality to be apprehended only by sight; and abides in three substances; earth, water, and light. It is a characteristic quality of the last; and, in that, is white and resplendent. In water it is white, but without lustre. In the primary atoms of both, it is perpetual; in their products, not so. In earth it is variable; and seven colours are distinguished: *viz.* white, yellow, green, red, black, tawny (or orange),† and variegated. The varieties of these seven colours are many, unenumerated. The six simple colours occur in the atoms of earth; and the seven, including variegated, in its double atoms, and more complex forms. The colour of integrant parts is the cause of colour in the integral substance.

2. Savour. It is a peculiar quality, to be apprehended only by the organ of taste; and abides in two substances, earth and water. It is a characteristic quality of the last; and in it is sweet. It is perpetual in atoms of water; not so in aqueous products. In earth it is variable; and six sorts are distinguished: sweet, bitter, pungent, astringent, acid, and saline.

3. Odour. It is a peculiar quality, to be apprehended only by the organ of smell; and abides in earth alone, being its distinguishing quality. In water, odour is adscititious, being induced by union with earthy particles; as a clear crystal appears red by association with a hollyhock, or other flower of that hue. In air also it is adscititious: thus a breeze, which has blown over blossoms, musk, camphor, or other scented substances, wafts fragrant particles of the blossoms, &c. The flowers are not torn, nor the musk diminished, because the parts are replaced by a reproductive unseen virtue. However, camphor and other volatile substances do waste.

Two sorts of odour are distinguished, fragrance and stench.

4. Feel, and especially temperature. It is a peculiar quality, to be apprehended only by the skin or organ of feeling. It abides in four substances; earth, water, light, and air; and is a characteristic quality of the last.

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* *Can.* 1. 1. 2. 2. and 1. 1. 4. 2.

† One commentator (*Mádh.*) specifies blue in place of orange; another (*Gau.*) omits both, reducing the colours to six.

Three sorts are distinguished, cold, hot, and temperate. In water, it is cold; in light, hot; in earth and in air, temperate. Divers other sorts, likewise, are noticed; as hard and soft, and diversified, &c.

These four qualities are latent in minute substances, as atoms and double atoms; manifest to perception in products or aggregates of greater magnitude. A mote in a sunbeam may be seen, though not felt. The colour of the visual ray, or organ of sight, is ordinarily imperceptible.

5. Number. It is the reason of perceiving and reckoning one, two, or many, to the utmost limit of numeration. The notion of number is deduced from comparison. Of two masses seen, this is one, and that is one: hence the notion of two, and so of more.

It is an universal quality; common to all substances, without exception.

It is considered to be of two sorts, unity and multitude; or of three, monad, duad, and multitude. Unity is either eternal or transient: eternal unity regards eternal things: that, which is uneternal, concerns effects or transitory substances.

6. Quantity. It is the special cause of the use and perception of measure.

It is an universal quality, common to all substances.

It is considered to be fourfold: great and small; long and short.

Extreme littleness and shortness are eternal; as mind, or as atoms, whether single or double, &c. Extreme length and greatness (termed infinite) are likewise eternal, as ether.

Within these extremes is inferior magnitude or finite quantity: which is uneternal. It is of various degrees in length and bulk, more or most, from the mote or tertiary atom, upwards, to any magnitude short of infinite.

The finite magnitude of products or effects results from number, size, or mass. Multitude of atoms, bulk of particles, and heap of component parts, constitute magnitude. The latter, or cumulation of particles, concerns a loose texture. The others, close or compact.

Infinity transcends the senses. An object may be too great, as it may be too small, to be distinguished.

7. Individuality, severalty, or separateness, is a quality common to all substances.

It is of two sorts; individuality of one or of a pair; or it is manifold, as individuality of a triad, &c. Simple individuality is eternal, in respect of eternal things; transient, in regard to such as are transitory. Individuality

of a pair or triad, &c. is of course transitory: it results from comparison, as duad or triad does.

8. Conjunction is a transient connexion.

It is an universal quality, incident to all substances; and is transitory.

It implies two subjects, and is threefold: arising from the act of either or of both, or else from conjunction; being simple, or reciprocal, or mediate. The junction of a falcon perching, which is active, with the perch whereon it settles, which is passive, is conjunction arising from the act of one. Collision of fighting rams, or of wrestlers, is conjunction arising from the act of both. Contact of a finger with a tree occasions the conjunction of the body with the tree; and this is mediate.

9. Disjunction. It is the converse of conjunction; necessarily preceded by it, and, like it, implying two subjects. It is not the mere negation of conjunction, nor simply the dissolution of it.

The knowledge of this quality, as well as of its counterpart, is derived from perception.

It is an universal quality, incident to all substances; and is simple, reciprocal, or mediate. A falcon, taking flight from a rock, is an instance of disjunction arising from the act of one of two subjects: the active from the inactive. The parting of combatants, rams or wrestlers, is an example of disjunction arising from the act of both. Disjunction of the body and the tree, resulting from the disunion of the finger and the tree, is mediate.

10.—11. Priority and posteriority. These qualities, being contrasted and correlative, are considered together. They are of two sorts, concerning place and time. In respect of place, they are proximity and distance; in regard to time, youth and antiquity. The one concerns (*múrta*) definite bodies, consisting of circumscribed quantity; the other affects generated substances.

The knowledge of them is derived from comparison.

Two masses being situated in one place, nearness is deduced from the conjunction of one with place as associated by comparison: referring primarily to the person of the spectator; or, secondarily, to other correlatives of place. Where least conjunction of conjunct things intervenes, it is nearness; where most does, it is remoteness. Thus, *Prayága* is nearer to *Mat'hurá*, than *Cási*; and *Cási* remoter from it, than *Prayága*.

In like manner, one of two masses, not restricted to place, is young, as deduced from the association of the object with time, by comparison dis-

criminating that which is connected with least time. Another is old, which is connected with most time. Here time is determined by revolutions of the sun.

12. Gravity is the peculiar cause of primary descent or falling.*

It affects earth and water. Gold is affected by this quality, by reason of earth contained in it.

In the absence of a countervailing cause, as adhesion, velocity, or some act of volition, descent results from this quality. Thus a cocoa-nut is withheld from falling by adhesion of the foot-stalk; but, this impediment ceasing on maturity of the fruit, it falls.

According to Udayana A'chárya, gravity is imperceptible, but to be inferred from the act of falling. Ballabha maintains, that it is perceived in the position of a thing descending to a lower situation.

Levity is not a distinct quality; but the negation of gravity.

13. Fluidity is the cause of original trickling.†

It affects earth, light, and water. It is natural and essential in water; adscititious in earth and light; being induced by exhibition of fire in molten substances, as lac, gold, &c.

Fluidity is perceptible by the external senses, sight and touch.

In hail and ice, fluidity essentially subsists, but is obstructed by an impediment arising from an unseen virtue, which renders the water solid.

14. Viscidity is the quality of clamminess, and cause of agglutination. It abides in water only. In oil, liquid butter, &c., it results from the watery parts of those liquids.‡

15. Sound is a peculiar quality of the etherial element; and is to be apprehended by the hearing. It abides in that element exclusively, and is its characteristic quality. Two sorts are distinguished: articulate and musical.§

To account for sound originating in one place, being heard in another, it is observed, that sound is propagated by undulation; wave after wave; radiating in every direction, from a centre, like the blossoms of a Nauclea. It is not the first, nor the intermediate wave, that is the sound heard: but the last which comes in contact with the organ of hearing: and therefore it is not quite correct to say, that a drum has been heard. Sound origi-

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* *Tarc. Bhásh.* and *Pad. Díp.*

† Ibid.

‡ Ibid. and *Siddh. Sang.*

§ Ibid. and *Gau.* &c.

nates in conjunction, in disjunction, or in sound itself. The conjunction of cymbals, or that of a drum and stick, may serve to exemplify the first. It is the instrumental cause. The rustling of leaves is an instance of disjunction being the cause of sound. In some cases, sound becomes the cause of sound. In all, the conformity of wind, or its calmness, is a concomitant cause: for an adverse wind obstructs it. The material cause is in every case the etherial fluid: and the conjunction of that with the sonorous subject, is a concomitant cause.

The *Mímánsá* affirms the eternity of sound. This is contested by the *Naiyáyicas*, who maintain, that were it eternal, it could not be apprehended by human organs of sense.

16.—23. The eight following qualities are perceptible by the mental organ; not by the external senses. They are qualities of the soul, not of material substances.

16. Intelligence (*budd'hi*) is placed by Canáde among qualities; and by Gótama, fifth among objects of proof. It will be noticed in that place.

17 and 18. Pleasure and pain are among qualities enumerated by Canáde. Pain or evil is placed by Gótama among objects of proof: where (under the head of deliverance) it will be further noticed, with its converse.

19 and 20. Desire and aversion are the two next in order among qualities. Desire is the wish of pleasure and of happiness, and of absence of pain. Passion is extreme desire: it is incident to man and inferior beings. The supreme being is devoid of passion. Neither does desire intend God's will, nor a saint's wish. Aversion is loathing or hatred.

21. Volition (*yatna*), effort, or exertion, is a determination to action productive of gratification. Desire is its occasion, and perception its reason. Two sorts of perceptible effort are distinguished: that proceeding from desire, seeking what is agreeable; and that which proceeds from aversion, shunning what is loathsome. Another species, which escapes sensation or perception, but is inferred from analogy of spontaneous acts, comprises animal functions, having for a cause the vital unseen power.

Volition, desire, and intelligence, are in man transitory, variable, or inconstant. The will and intelligence of God are eternal, uniform, constant.

22 and 23. Virtue and vice (*D'harma* and *Ad'harma*), or moral merit and demerit, are the peculiar causes of pleasure and of pain respectively. The result of performing that which is enjoined, as sacrifice, &c. is virtue: the

result of doing that which is forbidden, is vice. They are qualities of the soul; imperceptible, but inferred from reasoning.

The proof of them is deduced from transmigration. The body of an individual, with his limbs and organs of sense, is a result of a peculiar quality of his soul; since this is the cause of that individual's fruition, like a thing which is produced by his effort or volition. The peculiar quality of the soul, which does occasion its being invested with body, limbs, and organs, is virtue or vice: for body and the rest are not the result of effort and volition.*

24. The twenty-fourth and last quality is faculty (*sanscára*). This comprehends three sorts.

Velocity (*végá*), which is the cause of action. It concerns matter only; and is a quality of the mental organ, and of the four grosser elements, earth, water, light, and air. It becomes manifest from the perception of motion.

Elasticity (*st'hitist'hávaca*) is a quality of particular tangible, terrene objects; and is the cause of that peculiar action, whereby an altered thing is restored to its pristine state; as a bow unbends, and a strained branch resumes its former position. It is imperceptible; but is inferred from the fact of the restitution of a thing to its former condition.

Imagination (*bhávaná*) is a peculiar quality of the soul, and is the cause of memory. It is a result of notion or recollection; and being excited, produces remembrance: and the exciting cause is the recurrence of an association; that is, of the sight or other perception of a like object.

III. The next head in Canáde's arrangement, after quality, is action (*carme*).

Action consists in motion, and, like quality, abides in substance alone. It affects a single, that is, a finite substance, which is matter. It is the cause (not aggregative, but indirect) of disjunction, as of conjunction: that is, a fresh conjunction in one place, after annulment of a prior one in another, by means of disjunction. It is devoid of quality; and is transitory.

Five sorts are enumerated: to cast upward; to cast downward; to push

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* *Tarc. Bhásh.*

forward; to spread horizontally; and, fifthly, to go: including many varieties under the last comprehensive head.

IV. Community (*sámánya*), or the condition of equal or like things, is the cause of the perception of conformity. It is eternal, single, concerning more than one thing, being a property common to several. It abides in substance, in quality, and in action.

Two degrees of it are distinguished: the highest, concerning numerous objects; the lowest, concerning few. The first is existence, a common property of all. The latter, is the abstraction of an individual, varying with age, in dimensions, yet continuing identical. A third, or intermediate degree, is distinguished, comprehended in the first, and including the latter. These three degrees of community correspond nearly with genus, species, and individual.

In another view, community is two fold: *viz.* genus (*játi*) and discriminative property (*upádhi*), or species.

The *Baudd'has* are cited as denying this category, and maintaining that individuals only have existence; and that abstraction is false and deceptive. This, as well as other controverted points, will be further noticed at a future opportunity.

V. Difference (*viśésha*), or particularity, is the cause of perception of exclusion. It affects a particular and single object, which is devoid of community. It abides in eternal substances. Such substances are mind, soul, time, place; and the etherial element; and the atoms of earth, water, light, and air.

VI. The sixth and last of Canáde's categories is aggregation (*samaváya*), or perpetual intimate relation. It has been already briefly noticed.

VII. To the six affirmative categories of Canáde, succeeding writers add a seventh, which is negative.

Negation or privation (*abháva*) is of two sorts; universal and mutual. Universal negation comprehends three species, antecedent, emergent, and absolute.

Antecedent privation (*prágabháva*) is present negation of that, which, at a future time, will be. It is negation in the material cause, previous to the

production of an effect; as, in yarn, prior to the fabrication of cloth, there is antecedent privation of the piece of cloth which is to be woven. It is without beginning, for it has not been produced; and has an end, for it will be terminated by the production of the effect.

Emergent privation is destruction (*dhwansa*), or cessation, of an effect. It is negation in the cause, subsequent to the production of the effect: as, in a broken jar (smashed by the blow of a mallet) the negation of jar in the heap of potsherds. It has a commencement, but no end; for the destruction of the effect cannot be undone.

Absolute negation extends through all times, past, present, and future. It has neither beginning nor end. For example, fire in a lake, colour in air.

Mutual privation is difference (*bhéda*). It is reciprocal negation of identity, essence, or respective peculiarity.

5. To return to Gótama's arrangement. The fifth place, next after objects of sense, is by him allotted to intelligence (*budd'hi*), apprehension, knowledge, or conception; defined as that which manifests, or makes known, a matter.

It is two-fold: notion, and remembrance. Notion (*anubhava*) includes two sorts: right and wrong. Right notion (*pramá*) is such as is incontrovertible. It is derived from proof, and is consequently fourfold; *viz.* from perception; or inference; or comparison; or revelation: for example: 1st. a jar perceived by undisordered organs; 2d. fire inferred from smoke; 3d. a gayal * recognised from its resemblance to a cow; 4th. celestial happiness attainable through sacrifice, as inculcated by the *Védas.*

Wrong notion deviates from truth, and is not derived from proof. It is threefold: doubt; premises liable to reduction to absurdity; and error (for example, mistaking mother-o'-pearl for silver).

Remembrance (*smaraña*), likewise, is either right or wrong. Both occur, and right remembrance especially, while awake. But, in sleep, remembrance is wrong.

6. The sixth place among objects of proof, is allotted to mind. It has been already twice noticed; *viz.* among organs of sense, and again among substances.

7. Activity (*pravritti*) is next in order. It is determination, the result

* Bos gavæus s. frontalis. *As. Res.* 8. 487. Linn. Trans.

of passion, and the cause of virtue and vice, or merit and demerit; according as the act is one enjoined or forbidden. It is oral, mental, or corporeal; not comprehending unconscious vital functions. It is the reason of all wordly proceedings.

8. From acts proceed faults (*dósha*): including, under this designation, passion or extreme desire; aversion or loathing; and error or delusion (*móha*). The two first of these are reckoned by Canáde among qualities.

9. Next in Gótama's arrangement is (*prétya-bháva*) the condition of the soul after death; which is transmigration: for the soul, being immortal, passes from a former body which perishes, to a new one which receives it. This is a reproduction (*punar-utpatti*).

10. Retribution (*phala*) is the fruit accruing from faults which result from activity. It is a return of fruition (*punar-bhóga*), or experience of pleasure or pain, in association with body, mind, and senses.

11. Pain, or anguish, is the eleventh topic of matters to be proven.

12. Deliverance from pain is beatitude: it is absolute prevention of every sort of ill; reckoned, in this system of philosophy, to comprehend twenty-one varieties of evil, primary or secondary: *viz.* 1. body; 2—7. the six organs of sense; 8—13. six objects (*vishaya*) of sensation; 14—19. six sorts of apprehension and intelligence (*budd'hi*); 20. pain or anguish; 21. pleasure. For even this, being tainted with evil, is pain; as honey drugged with poison is reckoned among deleterious substances.

This liberation from ill is attained by soul, acquainted with the truth (*tatwa*), by means of holy science; divested of passion through knowledge of the evil incident to objects; meditating on itself; and, by the maturity of self-knowledge, making its own essence present; relieved from impediments; not earning fresh merit or demerit, by deeds done with desire; discerning the previous burden of merit or demerit, by devout contemplation; and acquitting it through compressed endurance of its fruit; and thus, (previous acts being annulled, and present body departed, and no future body accruing,) there is no further connexion with the various sorts of ill, since there is no cause for them. This, then, is prevention of pain of every sort; it is deliverance, and beatitude.

III. After proof and matter to be proven, Gótama proceeds to other categories; and assigns the next place to doubt (*sanśaya*).

It is the consideration of divers contrary matters, in regard to one and

the same thing; and is of three sorts, arising from common or from peculiar qualities; or merely from contradiction: discriminative marks being in all three cases unnoticed. Thus an object is observed, concerning which it becomes a question whether it be a man or a post: the limbs which would betoken the man, or the crooked trunk which would distinguish the post, being equally unperceived. Again, odour is a peculiar quality of earth: it belongs not to eternal substances, as the etherial element; nor to transient elements, as water: is then earth eternal or uneternal? So, one affirms that sound is eternal; another denies that position; and a third person doubts.

IV. Motive (*prayójana*) is that by which a person is actuated, or moved to action. It is the desire of attaining pleasure, or of shunning pain; or the wish of exemption from both: for such is the purpose or impulse of every one in a natural state of mind.*

V. Instance (*drĭshtánta*) is, in a controversy, a topic on which both disputants consent. It is either concordant or discordant; direct or inverse: as the culinary hearth, for a direct instance of the argument of the presence of fire betokened by smoke; and a lake, for an inverse or contrary instance of the argument, where the indicating vapour is mist or fog.†

VI. Demonstrated truth (*sidd'hánta*) is of four sorts; *viz.* universally acknowledged; partially so; hypothetically; argumentatively (or, *e concessu*).‡

Thus, existence of substance, or of that to which properties appertain, is universally recognised; though the abstract notion of it may not be so; for the *Baudd'has* deny abstraction. Mind is by the *Naiyáyicas* considered to be an organ of perception; and so it is by the kindred sect of *Vaiśéshicas*. The eternity of sound is admitted in the *Mímánsá*, and denied in the *Nyáya*. Supposing the creation of the earth to be proved, omniscience of the creator follows. In Jaimini's disquisition on the eternity, or the transitoriness, of sound, it is said, granting sound to be a quality.

* *Gót.* 1. 1. 4. 1—3. † *Gót.* 1. 1. 5. 1—6. ‡ *Gót.* 1. 1. 6. 1. &c.

On the appositeness of some of these examples, in the cases to which they are here applied, as instances of divers sorts of demonstration, there is a disagreement among commentators, which it is needless to go into.

VII. A regular argument, or complete syllogism (*nyáya*), consists of five members (*avayava*) or component parts. 1st. the proposition (*pratijnyá*); 2d. the reason (*hétu* or *apadésa*); 3d. the instance (*udáharaña* or *midarśana*); 4th. the application (*upanaya*); 5th. the conclusion (*nigamana*). Ex.

1. This hill is fiery:
2. For it smokes.
3. What smokes, is fiery: as a culinary hearth.
4. Accordingly the hill is smoking:
5. Therefore it is fiery.

Some * confine the syllogism (*nyáya*) to three members; either the three first, or the three last. In this latter form it is quite regular. The recital joined with the instance is the major; the application is the minor; the conclusion follows.

VIII. Next, in this arrangement, is (*tarca*) reduction to absurdity. It is a mode of reasoning, for the investigation of truth, by deduction from wrong premises, to an inadmissible conclusion which is at variance with proof, whether actual perception or demonstrable inference. The conclusion, to which the premises would lead, is inadmissible, as contrary to what is demonstrated, or as conceding what is disproved.

It is not to be confounded with doubt, to which there are two sides; but to this there is but one.

Five sorts are distinguished by the more ancient writers, to which the moderns have added six, or even seven more varieties. It is needless to enumerate them: one or two examples may suffice.

Ex. 1. Is this hill fiery, or not? On this question one delivers his opinion, that it is not fiery. The answer to him is, Were it not fiery, it would not smoke.

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* The followers of the *Mímánsá*. *Pad. Díp.*

Ex. 2. If there be a jar in this place, it must look like the ground.

Fallacy of the same form, termed *tarcábhása*, comprises the like number of sorts and varieties.

The designations, by which they are distinguished, are familiar to the Indian scholastic disputation. It would be tedious to enumerate and explain them.

IX. Ascertainment (*nirnéya*), or determination of truth, is the fruit of proof, the result of evidence and of reasoning, confuting objections, and establishing the position in question.

X.—XII. Disputation (*cat'há*) is conference, or dialogue of interlocutors, maintaining adverse positions; whether contending for victory, or seeking the truth. It comprises three of the categories.

X. One is (*jalpa*) debate of disputants contending for victory: each seeking to establish his own position, and overthrow the opponent's.

XI. Another is (*váda*) discourse, or interlocution of persons communing on a topic in pursuit of truth, as preceptor and pupil together with fellow-students.

XII. The third is (*vitańdá*) cavil, or controversy wherein the disputant seeks to confute his opponent, without offering to support a position of his own.

XIII. Next in Gótama's enumeration is fallacy, or, as it is termed, semblance of a reason (*hétwábhása*); it is the *non causa pro causa* of logicians. Five sorts are distinguished, embracing divers varieties or subdivisions. They need not be here set forth.

XIV. Fraud (*ch'hala*), or perversion and misconstruction, is of three sorts: 1st. verbal misconstruing of what is ambiguous; 2d. perverting, in a literal sense, what is said in a metaphorical one; 3d. generalizing what is particular.

XV. After all these is (*játi*) a futile answer, or self-confuting reply. No less than twenty-four sorts are enumerated.

XVI. The sixteenth and last of Gótama's categories, is (*nigraha-st'hána*) failure in argument, or (*parájaya-hétu*) reason of defeat. It is the termination of a controversy. Of this, likewise, no fewer than twenty-two distinctions are specified: which are here passed by; as the present essay has already been extended to too great a length.

VIII. *Account of the* Banyan-Tree, *or* Ficus Indica, *as found in the ancient Greek and Roman Authors. By* George Henry Noehden, *LL.D. Secretary R.A.S. F.R.S. &c.*

Read March 6, 1824.

Among the objects of Natural History, which attracted the attention, and excited the wonder of the followers of Alexander the Great, when that illustrious conqueror carried his victorious arms across the Indus, was the Banyan, or Indian Fig-tree. It is well known that that extraordinary man, whose talents, as well as achievements, have certainly no parallel in history, was generally imbued with a love of science, and, as Pliny expresses it, inflamed with a passion for Natural History.* To his great preceptor, Aristotle, he had delegated the care of digesting, and elucidating, the vast materials that were collected, in the king's progress through a quarter of the globe, which, to the inhabitants of Europe, was absolutely a new world. It is to be presumed that, by the orders of Alexander, not only specimens of natural productions were looked for, but that observations were also made, on the spot, by competent persons, on such objects as could not be removed. Both the one and the other were placed at the disposal of Aristotle, who by dint of his powerful mind, and with the assistance of an immense fund of knowledge, brought the rude materials, furnished to him, into a system of scientific arrangement. According to Pliny, as

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* Pliny speaks, in particular, of one branch of natural history, namely, zoology, in the cultivation of which, he says, Alexander had taken a warm interest: but no remarkable object could be indifferent to such a mind. Nat. Hist. VIII. 17. Vol. II. p. 79. ed. Bip. *Alexandro Magno rege inflammato cupidine animalium naturas noscendi, delegatâque hac commentatione Aristoteli, summo in omni doctrinâ viro, aliquot millia hominum in totius Asiæ Græciæque tractu parere jussa, omnium quos venatus, ancupia, piscatusque alebant: quibusque vivaria, armenta, piscinæ, aviaria, in curâ erant: ne quid usquam gentium ignoraretur ab eo: quos percontando quinquaginta ferme volumina illa præclara de animalibus condidit.* The immense sums of money, which the king, besides, bestowed upon Aristotle, for the prosecution of his researches, are mentioned by Athenæus IX. p. 398, &c. Casaub. (IX. c. 13. T. III. p. 447. ed. Schweigh.) This grant of money Ælian (Var. Hist. IV. 19.) by a mistake, attributes to Philip, the father of Alexander. See Buhle in Aristotelis Vita (Vol. I. Oper. Aristotel.), p. 96; and Schlegel's Indische Bibliothek. Vol. I. p. 160.

quoted below,* he wrote about fifty volumes on the History of Animals, or, as we should say, on Zoology alone: and we know from other sources, that he also composed a work on Plants,† or on Botany. In the latter, the mention of such a production as the Banyan-tree, could not have been omitted. It is our misfortune to lament, that of these interesting writings comparatively very little has been preserved to us. Of the work on Animals, a certain portion remains; and there, indeed, also exists a book on Plants, attributed to Aristotle, but unquestionably spurious. His researches, however, may be traced in authors that wrote after him, and who enjoyed the advantage of the information which he had gathered. Thus Pliny‡ declares, that the greatest part of what he himself has written on zoology, is taken from the works of Aristotle; and we may justly conclude, that Theophrastus, an author to whom our attention will be presently directed, has built on the same foundation.

Whatever passed through the hands of Aristotle, on subjects of Natural History, must be allowed to have had a value beyond that which any other writer could have given it, both on account of his acuteness and intellectual superiority, and of the channels, through which his information was derived. It is not possible to conceive, as has before been intimated, that among the natural curiosities of India, of which, through the interposition of Alexander, he obtained a knowledge, such a phenomenon in the vegetable world, as the Banyan-tree, should have escaped him; more especially, when it is considered, that even writers, as will be shown afterwards, who merely employed themselves in recording the military and political achievements of Alexander, could not forbear noticing that remarkable object.

Hence it appears probable, that Theophrastus, who was the favourite and most distinguished pupil of Aristotle, and who succeeded him in the Lyceum, as head of the Peripatetic school, gained, in substance, what he has left recorded of the Banyan, from the literary stores of his master, to

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* N. H. VIII. 17. Bip. The passage has been transcribed in the foregoing note.

† Περὶ φυτῶν ά β', *de plantis libri duo*, two books on plants. See the Life of Aristotle, by Diogenes Laertius, in the 1st volume of Buhle's edition of Aristotle's works, p. 22. Also his life by an anonymous author; ib. p. 64.

‡ Nat. Hist. VIII. 17. Vol. II. p. 79. ed. Bip.—*quinquaginta ferme volumina illa præclara de animalibus condidit; quæ a me collecta in arctum, cum iis quæ ignoraverat, quæso ut legentes boni consulant, in universis rerum naturæ operibus, medioque clarissimi regum omnium desiderio, curâ nostrâ breviter peregrinantes.*

which, undoubtedly, he had access: and this circumstance will recommend the passages, which I am about to introduce, to our particular regard.

We are in possession of two botanical works of Theophrastus, one inscribed the *History of Plants*,* and the other rather unintelligibly entitled *On the Causes of Plants*.† In this last work, he treats of the peculiarities of different plants, of which peculiarities he endeavours to assign the reasons, or causes; hence that laconic and awkward denomination. It is a sort of Botanical Physiology. In both works, the Banyan-tree is mentioned, and altogether very fully, and accurately described. Theophrastus calls it the *Indian Fig*, an appellation which was given to it, by the followers of Alexander, on account of the resemblance, as he states, which the form of the fruit has to the common fig. It is singular to observe, that the name, which this plant bears in modern botany, *Ficus Indica*, should have been bestowed upon it, more than three hundred years before our era, perhaps at the very first moment that it was seen by the eye of an European. But modern science classes it with *Ficus*, not merely for the reason which Theophrastus alleges, but because it is marked with all the characters which belong to that genus.

I now shall cite the passages themselves, from Theophrastus. The first occurs in the first book, the twelfth chapter, of the *History of Plants*. He there speaks of the curious mode of its rooting, and says thus:‡ "The "nature and property of the Indian Fig, with regard to its rooting, are "peculiar; for it sends forth roots from the young branches, which roots "are lengthened, till they come in contact with the ground, and strike into "it. There is thus formed a continuation of roots, in a circle, round the "tree, which does not approach the stem, but remains at a distance."

The next, and principal passage, is in the fifth chapter of the fourth book, in the same work, and to this effect:§ "The country of India produces

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* Historia Plantarum. † De Causis Plantarum.

‡ Historia Plantarum, lib. I. c. 12. p. 13. (ed. Heinsii, Lugd. Bat. 1693.) Ἰδία δὲ ῥίζης φύσις καὶ δύναμις ἡ τῆς Ἰνδικῆς συκῆς· ἀπὸ γὰρ τῶν βλαςῶν ἀφίησι μέχρις οὗ ἂν συνάψῃ τῇ γῇ καὶ ῥιζωθῇ· καὶ γίνεται περὶ τὸ δένδρον κύκλῳ συνεχὲς τὸ τῶν ῥιζῶν, οὐχ ἁπτόμενον τοῦ ςελέχους, ἀλλὰ ἀφεςηκός.

§ Historia Plantarum, lib. IV. c. 5. p. 77. Ἡ δὲ Ἰνδικὴ χώρα τήν τε καλουμένην ἔχει συκῆν, ἣ καθίησιν ἐκ τῶν κλάδων τὰς ῥίζας ἀν' ἕκαςον ἔτος, ὥσπερ εἴρηται πρότερον· ἀφίησι δὲ οὐκ ἐκ τῶν νέων, ἀλλ' ἐκ τῶν ἕνων, καὶ ἔτι παλαιοτέρων· αὗται δὲ συνάπτουσαι τῇ γῇ, ποιοῦσιν ὥσπερ δρύφρακτον κύκλῳ περὶ τὸ δένδρον, ὥςε γίνεσθαι καθάπερ σκηνὴν, ὑφ' αἷς καὶ εἰώθασι διατρίβειν. εἰσὶ δὲ αἱ ῥίζαι φυόμεναι

 διάδηλοι

" what is called the *Indian Fig*, which every year sends out roots from its " branches, as before has been mentioned; it emits them not from the " young shoots, but from those of the year before, or even older ones. " These, coming in contact with the ground, form a sort of inclosure, in " a circle round the tree, so as to have almost the appearance of a tent (or " arbour) under which the people are also in the habit of dwelling. The " roots, when produced, may be distinguished from the shoots, or young " branches, by being whiter: they are thick and twisted, and furnished " with two leaves. The tree has a great deal of foliage above, assumes " altogether a well rounded form, and is of extraordinary size. For it is " said, that it throws its shade over a circumference of two *stadia* (or more " than twelve hundred feet). The thickness of the stem is in some more " than sixty paces, and in the generality forty paces. It has a leaf not " less than a *pelta*, or Thracian shield, and fruit very diminutive, about " the size of a large pea, or small bean, and resembling a fig, for which " reason the Greeks have called it a *Fig-tree;* the fruit is extremely small, " not only in proportion to the size of the tree, but considered of itself. " This tree grows near the river Acesines."

The third passage, in which Theophrastus speaks of this tree, is in the work, *On the Peculiarities of Plants, and their Causes,* in the second book, the fourteenth chapter.* " Those plants," he says, " which tend to a great " size, are apt to have small fruit, as, for instance, the tree called the " *Indian Fig*. For being of wonderful magnitude, it has, by nature, its " fruit extremely small and insignificant, as spending all its nourishment " upon the leaves and branches; for it has very large foliage. And to the " same cause of superabundant nourishment seems to be attributable the

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διάδηλοι πρὸς τοὺς βλαςούς· λευκότεραι γὰρ, καὶ δασεῖαι, καὶ σκολιαὶ, δίφυλλοι· ἔχει δὲ τὴν ἄνω κόμην πολλήν· καὶ τὸ ὅλον δένδρον ἔυκυκλον· καὶ τῷ μεγέθει μέγα σφόδρα· καὶ γὰρ ἐπὶ δύο ςάδια ποιεῖν φασι τὴν σκιὰν· καὶ τὸ πάχος τοῦ ςελέχους ἔνια πλειόνων ἢ ἑξήκοντα βημάτων, τὰ δὲ πολλὰ τετταράκοντα. τὸ δέγε φύλλον ὀυκ ἔλαττον ἔχει πέλτης· καρπὸν δὲ σφόδρα μικρὸν, ἡλικὸν ἐρέβινθος, ὅμοιον δὲ συκῷ. διὸ καὶ ἐκάλουν ἀυτὸ ὁι Ἕλληνες συκῆν· ὀλίγον δὲ θαυμαςῶς τὸν καρπὸν, ὀυχ ὅτι κατὰ τὸ τοῦ δένδρου μέγεθος, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ ὅλον· φύεται δὲ τὸ δένδρον περὶ τὸν Ἀκεσίνην ποταμόν.

* De Causis Plantarum, Lib. II. c. 14. p. 249.—Τὰ ἐις μέγεθος ὡρμημένα μικροκαρπότερα, καθάπερ καὶ ἡ Ἰνδικὴ συκῆ καλουμένη· θαυμαςὴ γὰρ οὖσα τῷ μεγέθει, μικρὸν ἔχει φύσει σφόδρα τὸν καρπὸν καὶ ὀλίγον, ὡς ἐις τὴν βλάςησιν ἐξαναλίσκουσα πᾶσαν τὴν τροφὴν· καὶ γὰρ σφόδρα μεγαλόφυλλος· ἀφ᾽ ὧν ἔοικε διὰ τὴν ἐυβοσίαν καὶ ἡ τῶν ῥιζῶν καθιεμένων ἐιναι γένεσις· ἴσως δ᾽ ἀνάπαλιν, ὅτι καὶ ἐις ταῦτα καταμερίζεται, διὰ τοῦτο οὖν ἀσθενέςερός ἐςι καὶ ἐλάττων ὁ καρπός.

"production of the roots, which are emitted from the branches; or, per-"haps, the nourishment being divided between the roots and the branches, "the fruit is, for this reason, weaker and smaller."

Such is the description which Theophastrus gives of the Banyan. It is full and detailed, clear and accurate. In commenting upon it, I shall advert to such parts as differ from modern accounts, or otherwise require explanation. The author uses a cautious mode of expression, when speaking of particulars, which might easily be liable to exaggeration. Thus, where the extent is mentioned, to which the shadow of the tree reaches, he employs the phrase, *they say*, or, *it is said*: "It is said that the tree throws its shade over a circumference of two stadia." A stadium may be reckoned at six hundred English feet; the shade of the tree, therefore, is said to cover about twelve hundred feet, in circumference. If we compare this statement with modern accounts, for instance, that given by Mr. Marsden, in his History of Sumatra,* we shall hardly think it magnified. That gentleman, in speaking of the Banyan-tree at Mangee, in Bengal, computes the circumference of its shadow, at noon, at eleven hundred and sixteen feet, between which, and the measure of two stadia, rated by us at twelve hundred feet, there is no great difference. Mr. Marsden gives the diameter of the stem of the tree at Mangee, three hundred and sixty-three to three hundred and seventy-five feet: Theophrastus estimates the thickness † of the stem, by which likewise the diameter must be understood, at sixty paces, or scarcely one hundred and eighty feet, in some trees, and at forty paces, or under one hundred and twenty, in the generality. If there is an exaggeration as to this point, I should suspect it to be in the modern account.‡ Theophrastus probably

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* Third edition, p. 163.

† Τὸ πάχος τοῦ στελέχους.

‡ There may perhaps have been some inaccuracy in the calculations with which Mr. Marsden was furnished; for it does not appear that he measured the tree alluded to himself. I find it difficult to reconcile some of the dimensions, as they are given. In the text, Mr. Marsden expresses himself thus: "It (the Banyan-tree) possesses the uncommon property of dropping "roots or fibres from certain parts of its boughs, which, when they touch the earth, become "new stems, and go on increasing to such an extent, that some have measured, in circum-"ference of the branches, upwards of a thousand feet, and have been said to afford shelter to a "troop of horse." To that passage a note is subjoined to this effect: "The following is an "account of the dimensions of a remarkable banian or bur-tree, near Mangee, twenty miles west "of Patna, in Bengal: Diameter, three hundred and sixty-three to three hundred and seventy-

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came nearer to the truth. The roots, that shoot out from the branches, are no where so accurately described. They are thick * and twisted, he says, and distinguishable from the branches, from which they proceed, by a lighter colour. And he adds a particular circumstance, namely, that they are δίφυλλοι, two-leaved, that is, furnished with two leaves, or *stipulæ*, as modern botanists would call them, probably at the spot where the roots issue from the branches. I have not seen this noticed in any modern description, either botanical or other. The size of the leaf is perhaps the only thing that is overrated: it equals, he says, a *pelta*, that is to say, a small Thracian, or, as it is also called, Amazonian † shield. Modern botanical accounts represent the leaf as of about a span, that is to say, nine or ten inches in length, whereas the *pelta* must have been more than double that measure. The fruit is by modern botanists said to be of the size of a hazel-nut; and Theophrastus compares it to an ἐρέβινθος, which seems to have been a large pea, or a sort of kidney-bean. The river *Acesines*, near which, he says, the tree grows, is supposed to be the *Ravi*, one of the four or five streams that, flowing from the eastward, unite their waters with the Indus.

The account of Theophrastus is the foundation of Pliny's description, which shall now follow. In speaking generally of India, this author remarks that that country produces the largest animals; and then he goes on to say,‡ "There also grow, according to report, trees of such extraordinary

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" five feet. Circumference of shadow at noon eleven hundred and sixteen feet. Circumference " of the several stems, in number fifty or sixty, nine hundred and twenty-one." Now if some trees, as is said in one place, have measured in circumference of the branches, upwards of a thousand feet; or if, as is stated in the note, the circumference of the shadow at noon is eleven hundred and sixteen feet, it is not to be conceived how the diameter of the stem alone can be from three hundred and sixty-three to three hundred and seventy-five feet, or its circumference nine hundred and twenty-one. The whole computation, I confess, is not clear to my view; and perhaps some error in the numbers may have taken place.

* Mr. Marsden speaks of what Theophrastus calls the roots, in this manner, p. 163: "The " tree possesses the uncommon property of dropping roots or fibres from certain parts of its " boughs, which, when they touch the earth, become new stems. These fibres look like ropes " attached to the branches."

† Pliny (Nat. Hist. XII. 11. p. 326. Vol. II. ed. Bip.) says: "*Foliorum latitudo peltæ effigiem* " *Amazonicæ habet.*" Milton, in a passage to be quoted afterwards, calls this shield, *Amazonian targe.*

‡ Pliny, Nat. Hist. VII. 2. Vol. II. p. 9. ed. Bip. *Maxima in Indiâ gignuntur animalia. Arbores*

" height, that you cannot shoot an arrow over them. It is owing to the " richness of the soil, the temperature of the climate, and the abundance " of water, that (if we may believe it) there is a species of fig-tree, under " whose branches whole troops of horsemen may be concealed." The very high tree, to which Pliny first alludes, may perhaps have been the great *Fan-Palm* (*Corypha umbraculifera*): but he has no name for it. The report of it, as of most of the productions of India, came from the Macedonians that composed the expedition of Alexander the Great; and these, though they gave an account of many trees, left most of them without names, as Pliny in another * place has observed: which circumstance rendered them indistinct and doubtful objects. The Banyan-tree was exempt from this defect, having, as before noticed, been called *Indian Fig-tree*, from the first moment that the Macedonians saw it. From its being designated as a Fig-tree, in the passage of Pliny, above recited, we know that it is the *Banyan*, of which the author is speaking.

This tree was among the objects, which were brought to the knowledge of the western world, by the expedition of Alexander. As such it is mentioned by Pliny,† who describes it in the following manner:‡ " It has very " small fruit. Continually propagating itself, it overspreads a vast space " with its branches, the lowest of which are in such a manner bent towards " the ground, that every year a portion of them strike into it, and produce " a new offspring around the parent-tree, forming themselves into a circle, " as if it were done by the hand of art. Within this enclosure the shep-

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bores quidem tantæ proceritatis traduntur, ut sagittis superjaci nequeant. Hæc facit ubertas soli, temperies coeli, aquarum abundantia (si libeat credere) ut sub unâ ficu turmæ condantur equitum.

* Nat. Hist. XII. 13. Vol. II. p. 327. ed. Bip. *Genera arborum Macedones narravere, majore ex parte sine nominibus.*

† Nat. Hist. XII. 10. p. 326. *Nunc eas (arbores) exponam, quas mirata est Alexandri Magni victoria, orbe eo patefacto.*

‡ Nat. Hist. XII. 11. p. 326. *Ficus ibi exilia poma habet. Ipsa se semper serens, vastis diffunditur ramis; quorum imi adeo in terram curvantur, ut annuo spatio infigantur, novamque sibi propaginem faciant circa parentem in orbem, quodam opere topiario. Intra sepem eam æstivant pastores, opacam pariter et munitam vallo arboris, decorâ specie subter intuenti, proculve, fornicato ambitu. Superiores ejusdem rami in excelsum emicant, silvosâ multitudine, vasto matris corpore, ut LX. passus plerique orbe colligant, umbrâ vero bina stadia operiant. Foliorum latitudo peltæ effigiem Amazonicæ habet; hac causâ, fructum integens, crescere prohibet. Rarusque est, nec fabæ magnitudinem excedens: sed per folia solibus coctus, prædulci sapore, dignus miraculo arboris. Gignitur circa Acesinem maxime amnem.*

"herds shelter themselves, in summer, as it affords them both shade, and "a kind of fenced protection, which presents an elegant appearance, when "you look under it, or view it at a distance, the whole resembling a "vaulted, or arched edifice. The upper branches spring, like a forest, "from the vast body of the mother-tree: most of them measure sixty paces "(nearly one hundred and eighty feet) in circumference; and they cover "a space of two *stadia* (or upwards of twelve hundred feet) with their "shadow. The broad leaves of the tree have the shape of an Amazonian "shield: covering the fruit, they prevent it, by this means, from growing; "the fruit is thinly scattered, and does not exceed the size of a (kidney) "bean: it becomes matured by the heat of the sun, penetrating through "the leaves, is of a very sweet taste, and by its peculiarity adds to the "wonders of the tree. The tree grows particularly near the river "Acesines."

Before I proceed to make any observations on this passage, I will, while the impression of it is fresh in the recollection, subjoin the well-known lines of Milton * relating to the Banyan-tree, which will be found to be copied from Pliny's description. The poet, speaking of our first parents, after the fall, when they felt shame, and sought for means to cover their bodies, continues thus:

"So counselled he (Adam), and both together went
"Into the thickest wood: there soon they chose
"The fig-tree, not that kind for fruit renown'd,
"But such as, at this day, to Indians known
"In Malabar or Decan, spreads her arms,†
"Branching so broad and long, that in the ground
"The bended twigs take root,‡ and daughters § grow
"About the mother-tree, a pillar'd shade ||
"High overarch'd, and echoing walks between.
"There oft the Indian herdsman, shunning heat,

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* In Paradise Lost, IXth Book, v. 1099 to 1111.

† Plin. *Vastis diffunditur ramis.*

‡ *Adeo in terram curvantur, ut annuo spatio infigantur.*

§ *Novamque sibi propaginem faciant circa parentem in orbem;* and afterwards, *superioris ejusdem rami in excelsam emicant-vasto matris corpore.*

|| *Decorâ specie, subter intuenti, proculve, fornicato ambitu.*

"Shelters* in cool, and tends his pasturing herds,
"At loop-holes, cut through thickest shade. Those leaves
"They gather'd, broad as Amazonian † targe."

Pliny was familiar with the writings of Theophrastus, for he repeatedly refers to him in his work, and it is evident that he almost transcribed the passage, concerning the Banyan-tree, from that author. But he has not done it with that accuracy, which ought to be expected, on such a subject. He omits, or alters, some essential points. In speaking of the lower branches striking into the ground, he does not notice the roots that issue from those branches, which are the means of bringing the latter in contact with the earth; yet this is a peculiarity most remarkable. From Pliny's account it would appear, as if the branches merely had a tendency to be bent downwards, and thus reached the ground, where they afterwards took root: but this is quite a false representation. He is equally incorrect, when he assigns the measure of sixty paces to the circumference of the upper branches, which Theophrastus gives as the dimension of the stems of the different young trees, produced round the parent stock. He expresses himself indistinctly respecting the shade, which proceeds from the tree. Like Theophrastus, he says, that it extends over two stadia, or about twelve hundred feet; but he so places this in the context, that it seems to be the shade of the upper branches of which he is speaking, instead of that of the whole tree, which Theophrastus clearly designs. The leaves Pliny characterizes by their breadth, which, he says, gives the idea of an Amazonian shield, or *pelta:* the comparison should be as to the size of the leaf generally, in which acceptation Theophrastus likens it to the same shield. The reason which Pliny alleges for the smallness of the fruit, is not such as an intelligent naturalist ought to have given: he says, it is owing to the large leaf, by which the fruit is covered, and its growth impeded. This must mean, that the fruit, being excluded from the influence of the sun, by the intervention of the leaf, is stunted: yet he presently talks of the effect of the sun upon that very fruit, in maturing and sweetening it.

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* *Intra sepem eam æstivant pastores, opacam pariter et munitam vallo arboris.*

† *Foliorum latitudo peltæ effigiem Amazonicæ habet.*

Pliny appears to great disadvantage, by the side of such an author as Theophrastus. The information which he collected, upon almost every subject, though vast in quantity, loses much of its value, from the precipitation with which it was taken up. His inordinate desire of reading every thing that could be read, which is admirably described by his nephew,* and the ambition of making extracts from a multitude of authors, left him no time for digesting what he had thus heaped together, much less for exercising any judgment, or discrimination. His extreme parsimony of time would naturally induce hurry, in making his extracts, which proved another source of inaccuracy. It is, for these reasons, not to be wondered at, that the correctness of Pliny's statements should, on many occasions, be subject to doubt, and that his authority should be brought into question. It is probable, also, that he may have mixed with the account of Theophrastus some other narration, less accurate; such, for instance, as might be found in those historical writers, who had described Alexander's expedition. It has been observed, that Theophrastus likens the size of the fruit of the Banyan to a sort of legume, which he calls ἐρέβινθος, and it has been said that this was either a kind of large pea, or some variety of bean. Pliny uses the expression *faba*, bean, as synonymous with the term ἐρέβινθος: and we shall perhaps be near the truth, if we suppose, that what both authors had in view, was some kind of kidney-bean, approaching the size of a hazel-nut, stated by modern botanists to be about the dimension of the fruit of the Banyan. *Faba*, in classical Latin, does not signify the common garden-bean, but seems to be a general term for both the *phaselus* and the *phaseolus*; which latter is the kidney-bean, the former the garden bean.

Theophrastus and Pliny are the two authors who have spoken of the tree, as naturalists. Those which are now to be quoted, merely give the popular accounts, such as were to be met with in the histories, and memoirs of Alexander's exploits. Of this character is a passage in Quintus Curtius, which undoubtedly refers to the *Ficus Indica*:† "There were woods," (in

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* Plin. Epist. III. 5.

† Lib. IX. c. 1, p. 193. Vol. II. ed. Bip. *Hinc Poro amneque superato, ad interiora Indiæ processit. Silvæ erant prope in immensum spatium diffusæ, procerisque et in eximiam altitudinem editis arboribus umbrosæ: plerique rami instar ingentium stipitum flexi in humum, rursus, qua se curvaverant, erigebantur adeo, ut species esset non rami resurgentis, sed arboris ex suá radice generatæ.*

India) says this author, "spread to an immense extent, shaded with lofty "and gigantic trees. Most of the branches being, like great stems, bent "into the ground, again rose upwards, at the place of curvature, so as to "afford the appearance, not of a branch that had sent forth fresh shoots, "but of a tree produced from its own root." This description, though far from accurate, cannot be applied to any other tree, than the Banyan. It was evidently derived from a superficial observer. Nor does the account given by Strabo, to which we now proceed, although more in detail, differ much in character. Strabo was a writer of great learning, and diligent research; but he has drawn his information, in this instance, not from the best source. We can hardly suppose him to have been unacquainted with the writings of Theophrastus, and it may be wondered that, upon such a subject, he should not have had recourse to this authority. The passage alluded to is in the fifteenth book of his Geography, and to this purpose:* "Among other things, India produces also many extraordinary trees, of "which there is one species that has branches bending downwards, and "leaves not less than a shield. Onesicritus, in detailing the natural pro-"ductions of Musicania, which, he says, is the most southern part of "India, relates, that there are certain large trees of India, the branches "of which grow to the length of twelve cubits, then take the remainder of "their growth downwards, as if they were bent, till they reach the ground; "and having penetrated into the earth, they strike root, like layers. After

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* Lib. XV. p. 694. ed. Casaub. (p. 1016. ed. Almelov.) Πολλὰ γὰρ δὴ καὶ δένδρα παράδοξα ἡ Ἰνδικὴ τρέφει, ὧν ἐςι καὶ τὸ κάτω νεύοντας ἔχον τοὺς κλάδους, τὰ δὲ φύλλα ἀσπίδος οὐκ ἐλάττω. Ὀνησίκριτος δὲ καὶ περιεργότερον τὰ ἐν τῇ Μουσικανοῦ διεξιὼν, ἅ φησι νοτιώτατα εἶναι τῆς Ἰνδικῆς, διηγεῖται μεγάλα δένδρα εἶναι τινὰ, ὧν τοὺς κλάδους αὐξηθέντας ἐπὶ πήχεις δώδεκα, ἔπειτα τὴν λοιπὴν αὔξησιν κατωφερῆ λαμβάνειν, ὡς ἂν καταϰαμπτομένους, ἕως ἂν ἅψωνται τῆς γῆς· ἔπειτα κατὰ γῆς διαδοθέντας ῥιζοῦσθαι, ὁμοίως ταῖς κατώρυξιν, εἶτ' ἀναδοθέντας ςελεχοῦσθαι· ἐξ οὗ πάλιν ὁμοίως τῇ αὐξήσει καταϰαμφθέντας ἄλλην κατώρυχα ποιεῖν, εἶτ' ἄλλην· καὶ οὕτως ἐφεξῆς, ὥς' ἀφ' ἑνὸς δένδρον σκιάδιον γενέσθαι μακρὸν, πολυςύλῳ σκηνῇ ὅμοιον. Λέγει δὲ καὶ μεγέθη δένδρων, ὥςε πέντε ἀνθρώποις δυσπερίληπτα εἶναι τὰ ςελέχη. Κατὰ δὲ τὸν Ἀκεσίνην καὶ τὴν συμβολὴν τὴν πρὸς Ὑάρωτιν, καὶ Ἀριςόβουλος εἴρηκε περὶ τῶν καταϰαμπτομένους ἐχόντων τοὺς κλάδους, καὶ περὶ τοῦ μεγέθους, ὥσθ' ὑφ' ἑνὶ δένδρῳ μεσημβρίζειν σκιαζομένους ἱππέας πεντήκοντα· οὗτος δὲ τετρακοσίους.—Ἅπαντας δὲ ὑπερβέβληνται, περὶ τοῦ μεγέθους τῶν δένδρων, οἱ φήσαντες ἑωρᾶσθαι πέραν τοῦ Ὑαρώτιδος δένδρον ποιοῦν σκιὰν ταῖς μεσημβρίαις πενταςάδιον· So this passage ought to be connected: but in the text of the editions (which, generally speaking, is very corrupt) the following sentence is interposed, between the words τετρακοσιόυς and Ἅπαντας, being evidently out of its place: Λέγει δὲ Ἀριςόβουλος καὶ ἄλλο δένδρον—καρποὺς ἔχον ὡς ὁ κύαμος δέκα δακτύλους τὸ μῆκος, πλήρεις μέλιτος· τοὺς δὲ φαγόντας ὀυ ῥᾳδιώς σώζεσθαι.

" this, rising upwards, they are metamorphosed into stems, from which, " in the progress of growing, branches issue again in like manner. " These, similar to those before, bend downwards, and form other layers, " and again others: so that from one tree, there arises a large bower, re- " sembling a pillared booth, or tabernacle. He (Onesicritus) likewise " speaks of the magnitude of the trees, which, he says, is so immense, that " five men can hardly fathom the stems. Aristobulus, when speaking of " the Acesines, and its junction with the Hyarotis, also makes mention of " the trees with down-bent branches, and of their great size, which, he " asserts, will afford shelter to fifty horsemen; the other writer (Onesicri- " tus) even says, to four hundred. But those go beyond all the rest, who " report, that on the farther side of the river Hyarotis, a tree was seen, " which, at noon, made a shade of five stadia."

This account of Strabo, as I have before stated, rests upon the authority of writers, whose business it was not to be very exact in matters of this nature: it incidentally formed a topic in their narration; and even if they wrote to the best of their knowledge, without a wilful design of misrepresenting the truth, yet, as it was not incumbent on them to investigate, with great nicety, the reports which they had heard, erroneous details were unavoidable. Among other misnomers, they seem to me to have confounded different trees. Perhaps some particulars, which we do not find applicable to the Banyan, may have belonged to the Great Fan Palm (*Corypha umbraculifera*): hence many points of difference, between this passage of Strabo, and the accurate description of Theophrastus, may be explained. The size of the leaf is, in the former, magnified to a large shield (*ἀσπὶς, scutum*),* while the latter limits it to a small *pelta*. On the other hand, the circumference of the stem, or trunk of the tree, said to be scarce fathomable† by five men, is much below the estimate which we have before noticed. In other instances, the spirit of exaggeration must be supposed to have operated, as in this, when it is related that the shade of the tree, at noon, covered five stadia, which is a space of more than three thousand feet. The emission of the roots from the branches,‡ which is a very important

* Τὰ δὲ φύλλα ἀσπίδος οὐκ ἔλαττω.

† Ὥςε πέντε ἀνθρώποις δυσπερίληπτα εἶναι τὰ ςελέχη.

‡ It is peculiar to several species of the genus *Ficus*, among others to the *Ficus virens*, a large tree, which is a native of South America.

fact, in the natural history of the tree, and most carefully set forth by Theophrastus, is not adverted to by Strabo.

I have hinted that, in some particulars, the *Corypha umbraculifera,* or Great Fan Palm, may have been confounded with the *Ficus Indica,* or Banyan. In a passage of Diodorus Siculus, where a large kind of Indian tree is spoken of, the Fan Palm seems to have been intended by the author. It is in the seventeenth book of his History, where the exploits of Alexander are related :* "The king," he says, "having with his army passed "the river, proceeded through a country extremely fertile. For it produced different species of trees, of uncommon size, some having a height "of seventy cubits, and such thickness in the stem, that four men could "not fathom it, and making a shade of three acres." Neither the height (about one hundred and twenty feet), nor the circumference of the stem (about twenty-four feet), nor the extent of shadow (about three hundred feet), can be reconciled with particulars, which have before been adduced as characteristic of the Banyan-tree.

The Banyan-tree, however, is undoubtedly alluded to in the following passage of Arrian. It is in that portion of his works, which is entitled *Indian History.* He is speaking of the Indian sophists, the wise men, or Fakirs, of ancient India, and continues thus :† "These sophists go naked, "and live in the open air, in winter, exposed to the sun; and in the "summer, when the sun is overpowering, they retire to meadows, and "marshy places, under large trees, whose shade, Nearchus says, extends to "five acres in a circle: and ten thousand men may be sheltered under one "tree; of such astonishing dimensions are those trees." From the words of the original it would seem, that the five acres (or five hundred feet) mentioned, are to be taken for the ~~radius of the~~ circle, which would for the circumference give nearly the same measure, that, according to Strabo,

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* Biblioth. Histor. Lib. XVII. T. II. p. 230. lin. 73. ed. Wessel.—Αὐτὸς δὲ μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως περάσας τὸν ποταμὸν, προῆγε διὰ χώρας ἀρετῇ διαφερούσης· δένδρων γὰρ εἶχε γένη διαλλάττοντα, καὶ τὸ μὲν ὕψος ἔχοντα πηχῶν ἑβδομήκοντα, τὸ δὲ πάχος μόγις ὑπὸ τεττάρων ἀνδρῶν περιλαμβανόμενα, τριῶν δὲ πλέθρων σκιὰν ποιοῦντα.

† Historia Indica, p. 324 and 325, ed. Gronov. Lugd. Bat. 1704. Ὄυτοι γυμνοὶ διαιτῶνται οἱ σοφισταὶ, τοῦ μὲν χειμῶνος ὑπαίθριοι ἐν τῷ ἡλίῳ, τοῦ δὲ θέρους, ἐπὴν ὁ ἥλιος κατέχῃ, ἐν τοῖσι λειμῶσι καὶ τοῖσιν ἕλεσιν, ὑπὸ δένδρεσι μεγάλοισιν· ὧν τὴν σκιὴν Νέαρχος λέγει ἐς πέντε πλέθρα ἐν κύκλῳ ἐξικνέεσθαι καὶ ἂν μυρίους ὑπὸ ἑνὶ δένδρεϊ σκιάζεσθαι· τηλικαῦτα εἶναι ταῦτα τὰ δένδρεα.

some writers alleged, namely, five stadia, or upwards of three thousand feet. With such an exaggeration, the report of Nearchus, quoted by Arrian, might coincide. But though we cannot precisely ascertain, in what sense the measurement, spoken of, is to be taken, yet there can hardly be any doubt that the tree, which Arrian had in his mind, was the Banyan. In reading what Arrian relates of the naked philosophers of ancient India, one is reminded of the Fakir, mentioned by Mr. Marsden, as sitting under the Banyan-tree, at Mangee,* who, it would seem, continued a practice that was known to his wise predecessors, many centuries before.

Thus I have collected all that may be supposed to have a reference to the Banyan-tree, in the remaining works of the classic authors. I do not believe, that any passage, or even any allusion, has escaped me. Perhaps the length, to which these observations have been extended, may require an apology. I was tempted to attribute some slight degree of interest to the subject, as the Banyan-tree has, in a manner, been marked by this Society as its own. It has been chosen for the emblem of the Society, and as the type for its seal. The extraordinary nature of this production, and its locality, being peculiar to the remote East, recommended it as an object that might characterize the Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland. Whether any allegorical sense, in relation to the arts and sciences, their various ramification and extension, their connexion and mutual support, should be combined with it, I leave for others to determine. The motto, joined to our emblem, is "*Quot rami, tot arbores,*" or, "Every branch yields a tree:" and whether we adopt the allegory, or not, it is to be wished, that the efforts of this Society may contribute to extend human knowledge, and promote that intellectual improvement, which is calculated to constitute the happiness of our species.

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* History of Sumatra, 3d ed. p. 163, note: "Under this tree sat a naked Fakir, who had "occupied that situation for twenty-five years; but he did not continue there the whole year "through, for his vow obliged him to be, during the four cold months, up to his neck in the "waters of the Ganges."

IX. *TRANSLATION of a SANSCRIT INSCRIPTION, relative to the last Hindu King of Delhi, with Comments thereon. By Captain JAMES TOD, M.R.A.S.*

Read May 1, 1824.

THE Inscription, of which I have the honour to present a copy and translation to the Society, is a memorial of an important period in the History of India, especially that part familiarly, though restrictively, denominated *Hindust'hán*. To define the limits of this somewhat vague application, is of no great moment; but I believe it is generally to be understood as denoting the space between the mountains of *Himálaya* and the *Nermadá* river, north and south: a line in the meridian of the source of this river at *Ameracantac*, passing through *Prayág*, and meeting the great northern chain, forms the eastern limit; and westward, towards the Indus, it comprehends all the tracts within the limits of cultivation. This is generally understood to be *Hindust'hán* proper. What antiquity may be assigned to such restrictive definition of a word, implying the abode of the whole of the Hindu race, I know not;* nor should I have deemed it worth mention, but from its comprehending the space to which the inscriptionh as especial reference, the greater part of which acknowledged the power of the Prince, whose name it records. This name is PRĬTHWÍRÁJA, signifying "Sovereign of the Earth."

It was at *Hánsí Hisár*, in the beginning of the year 1815, I obtained the Inscription, when I left my post at *Sindia's* court on a visit to a friend, now no more: one well known, and whose memory is honoured by some members of this Society; whose services were appreciated, and his loss publicly lamented, by the late illustrious Governor-General of India, because talents, zeal, and honour, were synonymous with JAMES LUMSDAINE. I need ask no pardon for this digression: when met for the purpose of recording what is worthy in the History, Physics, and Antiquities of India, a passing tribute to one, who, in his own bright example, raised the moral

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* *Hindust'hán* proper, contradistinguished from the southern peninsula, and eastern India (*Dacshin* and *Púrb*) is the same with the *Med'hya dés'a*, or central region. See *Menu*, 2. 21. The *Narmadá* river is the limit of the *Vind'hya* range of mountains there mentioned. *Vinas'ana* is the place where the *Saraswatí* river terminates; losing itself in the great sandy desert.—H.T.C.

estimation, in the minds of the governed, of those to whom the destinies of a great empire are intrusted, cannot be deemed intrusive. I might say, it was due to his memory: but for my visit to him on this occasion, I might not have trespassed on the indulgence of this Society for the remarks I am about to offer.

Hánsí and *Hisár* are two conspicuous and contiguous places in the more remote geography of British India; being on our north-west frontier, touching the commencement of the Desert. Abul Fazil, in the Institutes, according to Akber's division, constitutes *Hisár Fírózeh* a subdivision of one of the twenty-two *Subahs*, or Satrapies, of the Empire. The great Emperor Fíróz bestowed his own name on this subdivision; which, remote as it was, yet was embraced in his munificent designs for the prosperity of his subjects. The remains of one of his many canals, conducted from the *Jamuná*, flowing past *Hisár*, are perfectly distinct; and the *Chitang* river is supposed to be a canal in all its extent. The recent re-opening of the grand canal excavated by this monarch, whereby not only the health and comfort of the great city of *Delhi* is secured, but irrigation afforded to an immense tract of country, is one of the most conspicuous works of national benefit, we have bestowed on our Indian subjects.

Fíróz had intended this as a royal residence. The remains of the palace, within the fortress (or *Hisár*), the noble artificial lake into which the canal flowed, with the mausoleums on its banks, are sufficient evidence, that a great mind had there been exerting its action. The natural fertility of the soil is seen in the richness of its pastures, and even in its miniature forests of the grand shrub of the desert, the *Pílú*, an evergreen, if I err not, and in which the lion still finds shelter. To supply the deficiency of water, lying very deep from the surface, these canals were carried on by Fíróz, who perhaps contemplated the junction, by these arms, of the waters of the *Jamuná* and the *Setlej*, which I believe is not physically impracticable. In establishing *Hisár*, Fíróz appears to have had in view the necessity of a more extensive post than *Hánsí*, which the Hindus seemed to think the key to the capital of the empire, covering it in the line of the fords of the *Setlej* or *Garah*, by which invasion often came from the west, whether led by Mahmúd, by Shahábuddin, or by Timúr. *Hánsí* is one hundred and twenty-six miles nearly W.N.W. from *Delhi*.

According to the Inscription, *A'sí* is the proper name. It is a singular place; and if ever fire-worship had been prevalent on those plains, I would

rather say it had the appearance of a grand fire-temple, than that of being intended for defence. It is in shape the frustrum of a pyramid, from eighty to one hundred feet in height, artificially raised: the exterior slope of each side (faced with brick) forming an angle of about seventy-two degrees with the horizon. Still the terre-pleine at top is considerable; and the palace of PRĬTHWÍRÁJA would have been standing to grace it, but for the guns of Mons. Perron, when he put a stop to the schemes of sovereignty of George Thomas, who had established his court in these "Halls of the Cæsars," now a heap of ruins. Nor are there any traces of those erected by KILHAN and HAMMÍR, "in which they placed the spoils of the foe."

The Inscription, which I obtained through the kindness of my friend Colonel Skinner, had been saved from the general wreck of these *halls*, by the materials being taken to erect a small Musleman place of worship; and this slab was built into the wall in a reversed position. It was afterwards presented to the Marquis Hastings: but, as it reached this nobleman at a very busy period of his career, in 1818, I know not what became of it.

Of the precise import of the term *A'sí*,* I am ignorant; but, most probably, it is derived from some ancient tribe now extinct. *Aśwa* was a very common termination of the names of the princes of the ancient dynasties of India, with probably similar import to that used by the Persian monarchs. The *Assaceni* were a nation in the Indies, described by Alexander's historians.

Aśigarh, or *Asidúrg*, is celebrated as the scene of contest between the Hindús and early Muhammedans. It was by this route, that most of SHAHÁBUDDÍN's attempts were made to wrest the throne of *Hind* from the subject of the Inscription, PRĬTHWÍRÁJA; and often did the warriors of the mountains of *Cábul* find their graves before *A'sí*. Even now it presents the appearance of a great sepulchre all around, but especially to the west. The route was by *Pácapattan*, the town of Purity, on the *Setlej*, to *Bhatnér* and *Fateh-ábád*, to *A'sí* and *Delhi*. It was by this route TIMÚR, in the very commencement of the ninth century of the *Hejira*, taking advantage of civil strife, entered India, when the last of the race of KHILJI filled the imperial throne.

The scope of the Inscription is to commemorate a victory obtained by

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* *Asi* (with both vowels short) signifies a sword. *A'sa* is a bow.—H.T.C.

PRĬTHWÍRÁJA over the race of *Dóda*,* by his vassal chiefs KILHAN and HAMMÍR, names of great celebrity in the contests of that period; and, as a text sufficient to expatiate on, is far beyond the limits which I must prescribe to myself in a paper of this kind; but they shall have some mention, after noticing the foe over whom, in consequence of being victorious, trophies were reared in the halls of *A'sí*.

This tribe, *Dóda*, with many others of more transcendant lustre, have long ceased to be conspicuous among the nations of *Hind*. Though it never produced independent sovereigns, yet it was a highly respected tribe, even on the invasion of MAHMÚD of *Ghizni*, and is noticed by the historians, both of the Court of *Nerwala* and of *Delhi*, as one of the thirty-six royal races of India. When the first grand calamity of foreign invasion occurred, involving spiritual as well as temporal change to the Princes of India, all rallied round what appears to have contained the palladium of their liberties and religion, *Chitór*. The *Dóda*, from *Kasóndí*, is mentioned among the princes who repaired to aid the descendant of RÁMACHANDRA on this occasion. But no such place of any consequence now exists, though there are several of the name in different parts of India, and one not a great way to the westward of *Ajamér*.

The race of *Cháhamána*, of which PRĬTHWÍRÁJA was the head, as well as sovereign of India, is still one of the most distinguished of the thirty-six royal tribes of India: but to trace its origin satisfactorily, is a task of difficulty; though all the knowledge those belonging to it yet possess, either from books or tradition, is not unfamiliar to me. At what period the limit was fixed to *thirty-six*, or rather amplified to this number, we must also remain in ignorance; but a glimpse is to be obtained, through a long vista of obscurity, of a period when there were not more than six or eight grand races; the same number which, I believe, the Tartar and Chinese genealogists admit. The chief races are those termed *Surya* and *Chandra*, or the Sun and Moon, which probably at one period comprehended the whole, as the greater portion of the *thirty-six* are still resolvable into one or other of these, and have every claim to be termed the most ancient of those belonging to India. From these, however, the *Cháhamána* is totally distinct, and, with three other very conspicuous races in the annals of India, the *Sólánkí*, the *Pramára*, and *Parihára*, form the *Agnicula*, or race produced from the

* Vulg. *Dóre*.

element of fire; as the others have, figuratively given to them, the greater luminous orbs for progenitors. Hereafter I may embody some distinct remarks on the martial races of India, and attempt an approach to the origin of some. It will involve some speculative notions, and without, perhaps, much solid foundation. The restless migratory hordes of Higher Asia, never found the *Attok* to be the Rubicon, which the more modern Hindu wished it to be considered, to keep him from the impure contact of the barbarian (*Mléch'ha*) to the westward; and the plains of *Hindust'hán* have been often trod by swarms of the same race, who deluged Europe under the names of Kimbri, Goths, Huns, Juts, &c. The colony of Getæ, or Juts, led by Odin into Scandinavia, gave their name, Jutland, to what is termed the Cimbric Chersonese. They were still celebrated as a nation in the time of JANGIZ KHÁN, and even in that of TIMÚR, who carried on successive wars of extirpation against them. A grand colony of them, settled where the Malli opposed Alexander, combated MAHMÚD of *Ghizni*, in a novel warfare on the waters of the Indus, but were slaughtered and driven across the *Setlej*. The *Getæ*, or *Jits*, have a place amongst the thirty-six races; and I have an Inscription, in an ancient character, recording the power of a *Jit* prince in the fifth century; his capital, *Sálpúr*, doubtless that situated high in the *Penjáb*, mentioned in the twelfth century as being amongst the conquests of CUMÁRA-PÁLA, of *Nehrwálá Pattan*, and perhaps the *Syalcote* of our modern geography. What I mean to surmise is, that these, and many others of the tribes now assimilated as Hindus, have an appearance (from their manners and mythology, and the unsatisfactory details of their first appearance) foreign to the aboriginal inhabitants of the plains of India. The remark is more particularly extended to the peninsula of *Sauráshtra*, which comprehends tribes, with every appearance (though for ages settled there) of foreign and of northerly origin.

Though the tribe, of which PRĬTHWÍRÁJA was head, is classically written *Cháhamána*, its invariable pronunciation by themselves is *Chohán*.* How-

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* The orthography of names of persons and places, purporting to represent the pronunciation, is not uniform in manuscripts of the vernacular language. In the same copy of CHAND's poems, entitled *Prat'hiráj-Chóhán-rása*, the hero's name is generally written PRAT'HIRA'J; but sometimes PRIT'HIRA'J; at other times PRĬT'HIRA'J; making, in the last instance, a near approach to the Sanscrit equivalent PRĬT'HWÍRA'JA. His family appellation is variously written, *Chóhán*, *Chauhán*, *Cháhuván*, or *Chahüán*: the Sanscrit of which also varies, *Cháhamána*, *Cháhumána*,

ever much of the Scythian they possess in their ancestry, it might be going rather too far to suppose them a ramification of the *Cho-han* dynasty of China, and one of the most powerful. According to De Guignes, they had penetrated into the Transoxiana, in the second century before Christ, nearly about the period that other tribes overturned the Bactrian kingdom. The Tartar tribe of *Yue-chi** (the Assaceni of the Greek writers) is mentioned, in the Chinese histories, as having, after aiding in this event (the overthrow of the Bactrian kingdom) penetrated into India, and settled there in the second century before Christ. To these, De Guignes applies the term Indo-scythian. In the second century after Christ, Gibbon has recorded, from the same authorities, an invasion which even reached Guzzerat; and Cosmas is given as authority for another, in the sixth century. But we have inscriptions, decyphered by a learned member of this Society, which record the *Huns* having even penetrated to Bengal; and I have met with a remnant of them, under their pristine name of *Hún*, in my travels in Guzzerat.

De Guignes adds, that the *Yue-chi* were fixed in sovereignty, in the northern parts of India, touching the Thibet mountains, in the fifth century. The *Jit* of *Sal-indra-púr*, already mentioned, of whom I possess a memorial of this very period, may have affinity to this branch.

But it is not in mere name, that we are to trace resemblances; but in manners, and religious opinions.

The Hindu genealogist is inferior to none of the class on earth, in giving a "local habitation, and a name," to his kings, hierarchs, and heroes; and of the ancestry of the family under discussion, we have the stapleof the chain of pedigree rivetted in the *Agnicunda*, or fire fountain, whence they sprung, on the summit of the Olympus of India, the celebrated *A'bú*. I had the pleasure of visiting this classical spot in the mythology of both religions, where *Adinát'h* and *Adíśwara*, *Rishabhadéva* and *Nandíśwara*, have their primitive shrines, and their common origin in name, and in

Cháhumána, or *Cháhuvána*. The metropolis of his empire, likewise, is diversely spelt: *Dilli*, *Dilí*, *Dillí*, *D'hilí*, *D'hillí*, or *D'hillí*. In short, consonants are interchanged, and vowels confounded: not always by carelessness of transcribers; for the exigence of the metre sometimes supports the variation. There is, consequently, much uncertainty in the proper orthography of names.—H.T.C.

* De Guignes, Vol. I. p. 168.

symbols. The superior wealth of the ministers of the *Balhara* sovereigns (in whose territory *A'bú* was a tributary fief), following the *Jain* doctrines, has eclipsed, in the splendour of the temples to *Rishabhadéva*, the simplicity of the shrine of Father Adam, as *Mahádéva* is often termed in these countries. He is here also worshipped as *Patáléśwara*, or Lord of the Infernal Regions. There are no temples in India, which can for a moment compete with these, whether in costliness of materials, or in beauty of design.

The *Chóhán* genealogist has chosen a most celebrated spot for his birth, and has invested it with all the interest of a classical originality. He was, with the three others, created for the express purpose of defending the religion of *Brahma*, when the *Daityas* rebelled and threw down the altars and statues of *Mahádéva*, and defiled the pit of sacrifice. This evidently alludes to a period when probably these two grand sects were contending for superiority: but unluckily we shall never learn who these *Daityas* were, or who the tribes, evidently only spiritually born again for the purpose of fighting the battles of the Brahminical sect. I placed myself on the top of the *Guru-sikhar*, or saint's pinnacle, the highest of all the numerous peaks of this curious mountain, "where European foot had never been;" and but one gentleman besides myself had ever been on any part of *A'bú*. Here I had the pleasure, among other discoveries, to meet with some of the fruits of Europe, the nectarine, peach, and citron, indigenous on the mountain, upon the edge of the Indian desert, and on the very verge of the tropical zone. It was a place of wonders, independent of its temples; which, however fine and costly the fabric, were surpassed, in my ideas, as a lover of antiquity, by the gigantic temples of *Giriṅár*, constructed from the rock on which they stand, and supported by numerous columns of the same dusky granite and sienite.

The height of *A'bú* may be judged by the variation of temperature. In thirty-six hours I passed from that of 108^0 in the plains of *Marwár*, to 60^0 on the summit of *A'bú*, under a vertical sun. The barometer indicated a height of near five thousand feet above the sea.

Such is the first acknowledged seat of *Chóhán* power; and the *Déóra* tribe, a branch of it, whose capital, *Sarowí*, lies about eighteen miles north, has held the sovereignty of *A'bú* for about five hundred years. The *Cháhamána* possessions extended, at very early periods (and when Mahmúd visited India), on both sides of that stupendous chain of mountains, the

Arabullah, dividing the rich lands of central, from the more sterile of western India, and serving as a great bulwark to the further drifting of the sands of the great desert.

From AGNI-PÁLA, the first *Cháhamána* (or him who was fostered, or reared by fire), we have a long list, to MÁNIKYA RÁYA,* the sovereign of *Sámbhar*, or *Sácambhari*, and of *Ajamér*, to whom is allotted the period of S. 740, or A.D. 695. Between AGNI-PÁLA and MÁNIKYA RÁYA, we have a CHANDRAGUPTA, who would certainly answer much better, as far as locality, for the ally of SELEUCUS, than the monarch of *Ráj-gríha*, in Bengal. I have an inscription also of a CHANDRAGUPTA, stiled *Avanti-Nát'h*, or lord of *Ujjayan*, in a very ancient character, and given to me by one of the *Jain* hierarchs, bearing date 427, but whether of the *Viráta* or *Vicramáditya Samvat*, I can but surmise. With this exception, there is but one other name in the list, from AGNI-PÁLA to MÁNIKYA RÁYA, of whose actions history has kept any record. This one is AJAYA-PÁLA, the reputed founder of *Ajamér*, or the hill of *Aja*, which interpreted, is a goat,† not the hill of *Ajaya*, victory, as its general acceptance would induce to believe. It is even said, that AJAYA-PÁLA was posterior to MÁNIKYA RÁYA, in whose time this celebrated fortress is called in their poetical legends, *Garh-Bítlí*.

MÁNIKYA RÁYA appears to have been one of the first who suffered, when, to use an Oriental metaphor, " the star of Islam first shone on the plains of Hind." Tradition has handed down a very bare outline of the event; and this by the bard, always more solicitous to amuse and surprise, than to instruct: but we have no other guide. He is our sole historian; and we are compelled to follow wherever he leads, though it is unnecessary to repeat all which he says. But even where reason is sacrificed to rhyme, we may be allowed sparingly to glean. This, the first invasion of India, is to be traced, at the same time, in the annals of *Meywár*, at the period to which I have already alluded. Upon this invasion, *Garh-Bítlí* was captured from the *Chóháns*. On this occasion LÓT, the infant heir of MÁNIKYA RÁYA, was slain by an arrow, while playing on the battlements; and ever since, LÓT PUTRA has been worshipped amongst the penates of the *Chóháns*: and,

* Generally written MA'NICCA RA'I. *Mán'icya*, in Sanscrit, is a ruby.—H. T. C.

† *Aja*, goat; and *mér*, hill.—J. T.

Aja is in Sanscrit a goat; and *méru*, the sacred and central mountain at, or towards, the north pole, called *Suméru*. *Jaya*, signifies victory; and *ajaya*, invincible.—H. T. C.

as he wore a silver anklet at the time, when Hinduism received its first stab, the ornament is forbidden to all *Chóhán* children. The anecdote is in itself puerile, certainly; but to see the fact pursued through so many ages, marks strongly the impression which remained of a great event in their particular history, as well as in that of the nation at large.

Sámbhari was the earliest possession of the *Chóháns.* The town stands not far from the celebrated salt lake of the same name, and which supplies a great part of India with salt, and forms a considerable branch of the revenue accruing to the prince in whose territory it lies. Prĭthwíbája is called by Chand to the very last, though enjoying the imperial sovereignty, the Prince of *Sámbhari*, "*Sámbhari-Ráo.*"

Thirty years ago, when the knowledge of Indian antiquities was first disclosed by Sir William Jones, this distinguished character obtained inscriptions from the celebrated pillar, called *Fíróz Láth*, in one of this monarch's palaces at Delhi; and laid a translation of it before the Asiatic Society of Bengal. It was of Prĭthwíbája, and dated only six years posterior to that on which I have been commenting. At this period he (Prĭthwíbája) was in the very zenith of his power. Major Wilford also made comments on it, but not in a manner to elucidate the subject: indeed, the reverse; for, taking *Sácambharí* to be the *Cambher*, or *Cambhernere* of *Mewar*, he transferred the actions of the *Cháhamánas* to a distinct race. Mr. Colebrooke, our Director, gave the most correct version; justly pronouncing *Sácambharí* to be *Sámbhar.* This pillar is mentioned by the bard Chand, in his works, as the *Jai-Khambha* (*Jaya-stambha*), or pillar of victory. But the many very ancient, and still undecyphered characters upon it, give the original erection of the pillar a very remote antiquity. It would be of the highest consequence could they be decyphered; they might, perhaps, have reference to the *Yádava* power, which possessed universal sovereignty, and whose capital cities were placed on the great rivers of India; and I discovered a rock, near *Jonagarh Girinár* (another great seat of this race), covered with the same characters; likewise a triumphal pillar, in a lake in *Meywár.*

There is another pillar, now prostrate, and in detached masses, with the same characters inscribed on it, to the N. W. side of the city of Delhi; and one on the site of the ancient Hindu fortress of *Hiśár*, but without any

* See Asiatic Researches, Vol. I. 379. 7—175 and 511. 9—188 and 445.

characters. Twenty years have elapsed since the march of events conducted British authority to Delhi; but nothing has been done to protect these prostrate monuments from further injury.

Sácambharí-Bhavání is the guardian goddess of the whole *Rájaput* race, yet more especially claimed by the *Cháhamánas*, though *A'śa-purná* is their immediate patroness; and a most enchanting one to have, "Hope herself."

Sácambharí-Déví had her statue erected on a small island on the *Sar*, or salt lake, to which she gives her name, contracted to *Sámbhar*.

The derivation of the term, as I was led to believe, when the subject first engaged my attention, is, "the Mother of Verdure," from *sáca*, vegetable. But she had chosen too unpropitious a spot to admit its correctness; for the waters of this lake are deadly, as those of Asphaltites, to vegetable life. A more correct etymology is to be had, and which explains the title of this goddess to the general admiration of the *Rájaput* nation. *Sácambhari* is the universal mother of the *Sacæ* (*Sácam*), a term in classical use amongst the *Cshatriya* races of the northwest of India, meaning distinctively the races. *Sác'há* is a ramification, or branch:* I am a *Sác'há-band* Rájput, says the *Cshatriya* of *Rájast'hán*; that is, one who can trace the affiliation or pedigree of his race. May we not consider the Sacæ of Alexander to have the same signification?

The *Cháhamána* is right in considering *Sácambharí* as deserving more of his adoration than the more benign divinity, Hope; for no race of the sons of Adam is less indebted to *A'sá-purná*† for "the fulfilment of their wishes," than these her votaries. A sketch of the reverses of the various *Sacæ* of this widely-extended name, would form a history; for their misfortunes were conspicuous, as their renown was splendid. No other of the martial races of India can fill more pages of its heroic history with deeds in arms. They still live in the songs of the bard, and furnish most interesting materials to the itinerant minstrel, the *Dholi*, the Jongleur of India, who to the sound of his *rhubab*, chants the exploits of Goga, who, with fifty sons and nephews, and all his clan, fell on the banks of the Indus, opposing Mahmúd; or those of the romantic Hammír, the theme of eternal plaudits,

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* To this etymology it may be objected, that *Sác'há*, a branch, is written with an aspirated guttural consonant; and *Sáca*, in *Sácambharí*, without aspiration.—H.T.C.

† "The fulfiller of desire."

whenever the *Rájput* instances the sacrifices, which the rights of sanctuary and hospitality demand.

Hammír Cháhamána, Prince of *Rin-tham-bhór*,* gave asylum to a noble of the great Allá-uddín, when disgraced by his sovereign. This sovereign, who assumed the name of Sikander Sání, or Second Alexander, and who scarcely yielded to him in the rapidity of his conquests, called on Hammír to surrender his suppliant, to whom he thus gives assurance of protection: "The sun will rise in the west—the sandal-tree be changed "into the thorny *Thúr*—the streams will cease to flow—*Suméru* become "level with the earth—the pledge of Parasu-ráma a bye-word, ere Hammír fails in his faith. The walls of *Rin-tham-bhór* shall fall, and my head "be crushed in their ruin; but, till these things occur, security is thine."

There are two works, very popular in the poetry of the Hindus, relative to the deeds of this prince—not the Hammír of our Inscription, as he lived a century earlier. These are the *Hammír-Rása*, and the *Kárya;* the last is the most esteemed performance, and was composed by the grandson of Chand, the friend and poet-laureate of Prat'hiráj. Hammír did fall in defending his guest; on which occasion the grand sacrifice of the *Jóhará*† was performed, when all the females were immolated, and the males rushed on the destruction which they could not avert.

Alla-ud-dín was the angel of destruction to every tribe in India, but especially to the race of *Chóháns*. During the twenty years (from A.D. 1295 to 1316) he swayed with most absolute power the sceptre, he almost extirpated these, the bravest of his foes: *Jálór, Sewána, Nadól, Asér, Déögir, Pawagarh, Gógraun*, all independent *Chóhán* principalities, and though last not least, *Rin-tham-bhór;* each fell, and in turn was sacked by Alla.

He was detained, upwards of a year, before the last, from thegreat difficulty of approach; and it is considered still, in this point, the most inaccessible of the Indian fortresses, being situated in the middle of several ranges. In Ferishta's account of the siege, he mentions the death of one of Alla's generals by a stone thrown by a Balista (from the walls), which he terms *Munjáníka.*

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* Sometimes written *Ran-t'hamb-bháwer*, which is nearer to the Sanscrit *Ran'a-st'hamba-bhramara*, the bee of the pillar of war.—H.T.C.

† Most commonly a grand funeral pyre, in which the whole are consumed.

When captured at length, and the prince slain, the unfortunate Moghul chief, Muhammed, was brought wounded before Alla. The King tauntingly asking how he would shew his gratitude, if he caused his wounds to be cured, was answered, in a spirit that showed how worthy he was of the protection which he had received, and which ended so fatally to his friend, "I would put you to death, and make the son of Hammír my sovereign."

In 1808 my travels led me by this famed place. I reached the gate of *Mádhópúr*, the fortified city in the mountains, through which a road leads to the fort, but was denied entrance. I marched, through a narrow valley, sixteen miles, between high perpendicular rocks, its breadth seldom, to my recollection, one hundred yards, and which merely brought me to another gate of *Mádhópúr*, three miles opposite the former. At the foot I ascended a rock, from which I was told I should have a view of the walls of the fortress, but was disappointed, and with difficulty descended. I then marched about eight miles to the westward of the hills, and had a slight view of merely the tops of the edifices of *Rinthambhór*, which now belongs to *Jayapúr*.

In the most remote parts of India I have found traces of Alla; and one inscription in Sanscrit, apparently set up at his command. He was one of the greatest of the sovereigns India ever had. He reduced every part of *Hindust'hán;* and while he was constantly engaged in repelling irruptions of the Moghuls, he cultivated, at the same time, the arts of peace. Ferishta gives an outline of his administration of government, which was then consulted as the *Kanún Alláhí.*

There are metrical legends of the wars of Alla with all those principalities; but this paper is already too prolonged to touch even on these. The *Haras*, the *Khichís* of central India, possess all the bravery of the *Chóhán* race, of which they are conspicuous branches; and Hammír, mentioned in our Inscription, as having, conjointly with Kilhan, overcome the foe of Prĭthwíraja, was the great forefather of the *Hara* race, and is mentioned as such in their domestic annals, as well as in the works of Chand. There are twenty-four ramifications (*sác'hás*), sacæ, or tribes of the *Chóhán* race, but several of them are now extinct, and others but little known; I possess, however, several memorials of them.

Those brilliant periods in their history, when petty isolated chieftains defied for a time the efforts of the Empire, are recorded, some of them in poems of merit, and are never-ending themes to the erratic scald of

Rájwárá, though it requires some patience and enthusiasm to listen to the tale, and, from the Doric dialects, transfer any thing like the spirit of the originals into an European dress. I shall presume to embody a few passages from Chand, which may be listened to from feelings of curiosity, and as belonging to the subject of our Inscription, Prĭthwíraja.

Visala Déva, whose name appears on the pillar at Delhi, was his great grandfather, and lived at a most momentous period in Hindu history, when Mahmúd of *Ghizni*, with his legions from the north, carried his desolating visitations into the most remote part of India. The *Cháhamána* annals record victories gained by Visala Déva over these his foes; in one of which he lost his life. Ferishta tells us of the failure of Mahmúd in his attack on the citadel of *Ajamér*, in his route to *Sómanát'h*. It may have been on some one of these occasions, that an addition was made to the various inscriptions on the pillar of Delhi, as a memorial of his having delivered *Aryavarta* from the barbarian. Sárngadéva succeeded him, but he appears to have been driven from *Ajamér*. Sómésa, his son, was the father of Prĭthwíraja, who was the first and last of the *Cháhamána* race that enjoyed the sovereignty of Delhi. His ancestors, however powerful, appear to have become tributary, if not vassals, to the imperial dynasty of the *Tuärs*. This (the *Tuär*) dynasty, descending from the ancient *Pándavas* of the *Mahábhárata*, still enjoyed supreme power. Sómésa *Cháhamána*, and Vijaya Pál (*Rhatore*) Prince of *Canouj* (*Canyacubja*, *Canawajja*), had each married a daughter of Ananga-pál, the *Tomára* sovereign, but had no male issue. Sómésa had supported the imperial throne, when shook by rebellion, headed by the chief of *Canouj*. This service, and the circumstance of his having married the favourite daughter, obtained for her son, Prĭthwíraja, adoption to the *Tuär* family, and nomination to the succession, during Ananga-pál's life: and at this court he was brought up from infancy, while his father enjoyed his independent sovereignty; and continued to do so after his son's accession, who, at length, united both crowns. This is not the first instance, of what I may (to borrow an appropriate term) call the Salique law of India, being set aside; but the instances are rare. I at present recollect but two which are conspicuous: one was the succession of the *Sólankí* successor to the *Chaora* dynasty of *Nehrwála-Pattan*; the other was the *Chóhán* heir to the *Sólankí*, in the same family. The female is never the medium of the transmission of honours amongst these martial races, though they pay her high deference and respect on all occasions.

Sálá * means sister's husband, in these regions. Whether the Franks, or Frisians, had as good a foundation for using the word, which denotes exclusion of female succession, might be doubted. The old German tribes had much in their mythology, manners, and institutions, analogous to these Sacæ of India.

Delhi had ceased to be an imperial residence, from the period of Sanc'hadwaja of *Kemaon*, expelled by Vicramáditya, until the middle of the eighth century, when a remnant of the old *Pándava* line once more obtained this ancient seat of power; and a dynasty of twenty-one princes filled the throne, until Ananga-pál adopted his grand-child, the subject of our inscription.

Sóméśa, during his son's minority, gained many victories over his foes; but was at length slain by the Prince of *Guzzerat*, which entailed the feud on Prĭthwírája, ending in the death of his opponent, and in the annexation of several of his provinces to the empire.

The history of this feud forms one of the most interesting of all the sixty-nine books of the works of Chand: each book is the subject of some great event in his sovereign's reign, to the last fatal battle, fought o ı the plains of the *Kaggar*.

It would occupy too much time, to give even an outline of the history of Prĭthwírája, following the guidance of this poem. It forms an useful history of the period, and contains much of geographical description. In this, every noble family of India can trace some of his ancestry, amidst the foes or warriors of Prĭthwírája: it becomes accordingly the grand volume of faith and knowledge, in every *Rájput's* hands; for he amongst them, who cannot quote Chand on occasion, must be a dolt. The poem is the authority for every action of his life; and from which he may glean passages applicable to every transaction. The bard, in his introduction, gives the reader to understand and expect this. Grammar, the rules of composition, languages, religion, he promises a little of every thing.

That sort of *mauvaise honte*, which might prevent the modern bard from lauding his own skill, seems not to have been known to the scalds of old, whether of India, or their brethren of Scandinavia: and Chand attributes as supernatural, an effect to the power of his verses, as did the scald with his runics. "I have a song (says one of these) of such virtue, that, were "I caught in a storm, I can hush the winds, and render the air calm:"

* From the Sanscrit *Syála*.

which is beautifully embodied by Gray (in his bards) from the Edda. So CHAND says, "My poem shall be a sea; and my verses, like waves, shall "course each other. It shall be an ocean, that I may enjoy the bliss of "knowledge. Whoever reads it, will find it to be as a vessel to cross him "over the difficulties of life. Its meaning lies not deeply concealed, nor "yet altogether displayed, but as water whose transparency is hid by the "sea-weed. My words I shall cull and place therein; but they shall be "as the necklace in the breast of bashful beauty, veiled to the sight." But we need not follow the strain of hyperbole of the poet, in lauding himself. He sometimes runs quite riot in the exuberance of his genius; and I recollect on one occasion, when almost raving, he checks himself, and asks in a very ingenuous manner, "but surely the bard has got intoxicated with his "own verses." CHAND also lays claim to prophetic powers: hence his title of *Tri-cála.**

The actions of PRĬTHWÍRÁJA and his heroes, afford fine themes for the bard; for, in peace, this monarch was never idle, and always engaged in some pursuit which led to war: and in those days, when the princesses of India chose their own lords, there were abundant opportunities. The erratic bards made him the general theme of their songs; and his personal appearance and actions, were sounded at every court in India, and he became the beau ideal of every princess of the time. CHAND has embodied, or composed for her, the stanzas sent by the Princess of (*Canawajja*) *Canouj*, inviting him to come and bear her away from the princes assembled as suitors for her hand; and, in the true spirit of chivalry, he went and bore her off in open day, from her father's court, in the face of the whole of his rivals: but it caused ultimately his own destruction, and that of the monarch of *Canawajja*, though, as CHAND says, "it gained him "immortality in the song of the bard." At least five of his grand battles arose from similar daring acts. He married none of his many wives, whom he did not win by the sword. It was enough to hear of beauty being betrothed, to hazard every danger; and this barbaric chivalry obtained him abundance of support. These daring adventures gave him so much celebrity, that every young and valorous *Rájput* enrolled himself under the banners of PRĬTHWÍRÁJA. He had one hundred and eight great leaders, or *Sámants*, some of whom were independent, and many tributary princes.

* As. Res. ix. 77.

Their names, their pedigrees, and their actions, are all touched on occasionally; nor is there a high family of *Rájwárá*, who cannot point out his ancestors in these volumes. The *Rájput* of the present day, or at least he who has not mixed much with the faithful, has lost none of the feelings of admiration for these actions. When this is the case, it is no longer a question if he could imitate them.

Six invasions by Shahábuddín occurred ere he succeeded. He had been often defeated, and twice taken prisoner, by the Hindu sovereign of Delhi, who, with all the lofty and blind arrogance of the *Rájput* character, set him at liberty. Chand records the terms of release, and the treaties concluded. But Prĭthwíraja lost the chief of his warriors in the plains of *Canawajja*. Sixty-four of the hundred and eight *Sámants* were left dead, in different stages of a succession of battles, which continued from the scene of *enlèvement* to his own frontier. Each chief had the select of his clan: for he carried her off in disguise, entering the court of her father, and witnessing all the nuptial preparations in the halls of *Canawajja*, as the attendant of his bard Chand. Prĭthwíraja, on his return, became a slave to the fair, and neglected his government. Shahábuddín invaded him unprepared, and had reached the plains of the *Penjáb*, ere he would rouse himself from his voluptuous sloth; and the *Sultan* might have approached his capital, but for his brother-in-law, Samarasí of *Chitór*, who came to his aid, and gave up his life, and thirteen thousand of his kin and clan, in his defence. The last general battle was fought on the *Kaggar* river. The inferior forces of Prĭthwíraja, after three days' incessant fighting, were cut to pieces, he himself made prisoner, and carried to *Ghizni*. Thither the bard, like Blondel in pursuit of Richard, followed his royal master, but it was to die with him. He tells us, that they tried to prevent his finding his sovereign; but "the music of his tongue overcame the resolves of the guardian of the prison." But ere he enters, he very artfully introduces the royal captive, deprived of sight by the ferocious *Patán*, lamenting, in a fair strain of soliloquy, the fickleness of fortune, at the same time combining a rapid review of his own follies, which produced this reverse. The subject is good, and is magnificent in the original; nor can the sternest *Rájput* hear it without emotion, for the *Chóhán* sovereign is his model: and indeed the last book, as it records only misfortunes, he is not fond of reading. Prĭthwíraja and the bard perished by their own hands, after causing the death of Shahábuddín.

The *Rájput* princes of India have been, and still are, frequently poets themselves; resembling many of the princes of Europe about the same period, many of whom were no mean Troubadours. Cœur de Lion, who, with Blondel, bears some resemblance to the "*Long-armed Chóhán*"* and his faithful Chand, was no bad poet. Pratáp Sinh, Raja of *Bakanair*, was esteemed the first of the non-professional bards of his time. The great Akber himself, partial to the Hindus and to their li terature, was no mean artist in these matters; nor are there any who do not repeat, and few chiefs of intellect who do not compose, as occasion requires, *slócas* or stanzas. The present prince of *Meywár* has them ready for every occasion, and often makes and delivers very happy impromptus.

But it is not in these points alone, that similarity of character exists between the *Rájput* and the rude noble of the dark ages of Europe. The feudal law, which guided both, may be still traced; and several of its chief incidents, except such as disagree with their notions of delicacy, may still be found. But it is time to close these remarks, or I might venture to surmise, that the colony led by Odin into Scandinavia, termed the *Así*, carried the superstitions, laws, and mythology of higher Asia with it. He, who will compare the heroic poetry of the martial *Rájputs* with the Scandinavian poetical relics, will observe the same imagery, a similar peopling of the celestial regions, the same incitements to glory, and similar rewards. *Odin's Valhalla* is not altogether so spiritual an abode as the *Súralóka*, or Hindu hero's heaven; nor is the Scandian Hebe, who pours out the mead, so enchanting as the beauteous *Apsaras*, *Rembhá*, and *Mainaká*, though the *Cshatriya* would scarcely refuse the cup he prized so much on earth, from so fair a hand.

The martial *Rájput* would hunt the boar with him on earth, but his system is too refined to have such gross food in heaven. *Serimner*, who afforded perpetual repast to *Odin's* heroes, would have as little chance of admission into *Súralóka*, as into the paradise of Muhammed. The *Valkyriur*, or Destinies, sent by *Odin* to summon the heroes to *Valhalla*, are the twin sisters of the celestial *Apsaras*, who summon the warrior of *Hind* from the field of battle to the mansions of the sun. The Scandian messenger of heaven has more of the attributes of Pallas; the other, more of Venus.

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* A necessary sign and qualification of a true hero must be long arms, according to the Hindu ordinances.

She comes in a blaze of beauty, breathing perfumes, and covered with garlands of flowers, which she throws over, and weds, the hero of her choice, and carries him off in her embrace. The fatal sister of Scania, like the daughter of Jove, descends armed *cap-à-pied.* She is beautifully delineated by Herbert, in one of the most harmonious poems in our language, Helga.

Hialmar, relating to Orvarod his presentiments of approaching death in battle, says:

> " I see the stern Valkyriur nigh,
> " All arm'd, and pointing to the sky:
> " Virgins of fate, that chuse the slain,
> " They bid me hence to Odin's train."*

and the apotheosis, thus:

> " From the frail trunk of mortal clay
> " His spirit soars to brighter day;
> " And these resplendent Maids of war,
> " Through misty regions of mid air,
> " Where fleeting motions gleam and die,
> " Guide him to where, with fixed eye,
> " Odin," &c.

Odin's heroes, even in heaven, do not quit their terrestrial pursuits. They eat of the boar, quaff the mead, and bluster, and riot, as they did on earth.

The bard Chand makes his choosers of the slain to descend with great grace and fascination; and, though their agency is tangibly corporeal, and suitable to the notions of a race of warlike mortals, yet, as the warrior ascends in the celestial cars above mortality, he casts off its grossness; and in proportion to his having lived well, and died nobly, does he approach divinity. They have even grades of celestial felicity; and though Chand has not actually given us a topographical account of the different heroes' heavens, yet we see the gradation from *Vaicunt'ha*, the paradise of India, which more accords with *Valhalla*, to the abode of the sun, the highest. Indeed, without any great straining of etymology, we might give a Sanscrit derivation of *Odin's* heaven.†

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* Helga, canto vi.

† *Vala*, or *Bal*, is strength, whence the common term in Chand for a powerful warrior. *Bala* or

In *Vaicunt'ha,* choristers chaunt his praise; the *Apsaras* dance before him; and he eats from the fabulous *Calpa-vricsha,* which is in eternal fruition: nor is INDRA's heaven free from strife and battle. This is a more refined abode, perhaps, altogether, than *Odin's Valhalla:* who however has another of a more exalted order, *Gimle,* which is eternal, the other not.

The *Rájput* ascends from that, the most sensual, just described, to the most etherial, *Bhánulóca,* the mansion of the sun, reserved for those, who, to use the poet's words, "spurned life as a vain dream, and, through the "wave of battle, performed the pilgrimage of the sword."

In illustration of CHAND's mode of translating his heroes to heaven, I will give in his own words, as near as my very imperfect version will allow, the death of SULAKHA.

It is in the twenty-seventh book, called the Battle of the *Rávé,* because fought on that stream, between PRĬTHWÍRÁJA and the King of *Ghizni.*

"The brother of JAIT lay slain in the field, SULAKHA, the seed of *Lakhan.* "Where he fell, MAHÁMÁYÁ herself descended and mingled in the fight, "uttering horrid shrieks. Innumerable vultures took flight from the field. "In her talons she bore the head of SULAKHA: but the *Apsaras* descended "to seize it from the unclean. Her heart desired, but she obtained it not! "Where did it go? For SULAKHA will have no second birth. It caused "amazement to the gods, for he entered none of their abodes. He was "not seen in YAMA's realm; nor in the heaven of SIVA; nor in that of the "Moon; nor in *Brahma-pura;* nor in the abode of VISHNU. Where, then, "had he gone? To the realm of the Sun!

"The *Apsaras* in vain searched each part of the field. REMBHÁ asked "MAINAKÁ, 'Why thus sad to-day?' 'This day,' said she, 'I expected "guests. I descended in my chariot. The field have I searched, but he, "whom my soul desires, is not to be found: therefore am I sad! Chiefs, "mighty warriors, strew the ground, who conquered victory at every step! "My feet are weary in tracing the paths in which fell the brave; but him "whom I seek, I cannot find.' 'Listen, oh sister,' said REMBHÁ, 'He "who never bowed the head to a foe, will not be found in this field. To "convey hence the pure flame, the chariot of the planets descended. He "even avoided the heaven of BRAMHÁ and of SIVA; his frame has gone to

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or *Vala, Sala* or *Hala,* for the initial letters are permutable, is a hall, or abode; thus *Valhalla,* the heroes' abode.

"be united to the Sun, to be worshipped by Indráńí. On earth he will "know no second birth.'"

This was one of the occasions when the sultan was made prisoner. The battle was long and bloody, and many chiefs of the Hindus fell that day. The poet brings the whole of the persons of the drama forward on this occasion, celestial and terrestrial.

He talks of the "crescent array" of the *Chóháns*; and names the commanders of the wings and main body: while the sultan moved in five deep columns.

"As he beheld the red colour of the blood-stained field, Bhairava (the "God of War) danced to the cymbal, beat by the fifty-two of his train. "Above, Náreda sounds his lyre. The heavenly *Apsaras* sing. The "*Dévatás* dance with delight at the deeds of the men below. Such the "feats of the heroes of *Gór* and *Sámbhari's* Lord. Their uplifted swords, "swimming in the air, form halos. Mighty chiefs lie on the field; their "bodies floating in the wave of the steel."

In raising the mansion of the Sun above the other abodes, we have some additional reason for surmising a Scythian origin to the *Rájput* race. Absorption in the solar orb, the great God of the Scythians, was the supreme wish. Their general rites, also, have a strong analogy to those, as well as of *Odin's* sons. Herodotus informs us, that the wives, arms, and horses of the Scythian or Gete warrior, were a sacrifice with him, that he might enjoy them in the next world. The same description will nearly answer for the funeral rites of the three countries. Those of the Prince of *Udeyapur* might have been worked into Gibbon's animated description of Alaric's funeral, or might have supplied Mr. Herbert with his description of the bier of Hialmar.

It was in 1818 this prince's obsequies were celebrated. He was carried to "the place of great sacrifice," on a travelling throne, on which he was seated, dressed and armed as when in the vigour of life; the heron's plume adorned his turban, his shield on his shoulder, and brand in hand. On either side of the regal bier rode, on his chargers, richly caparisoned, his three young wives, and a favourite concubine, all under nineteen years of age; their fine countenances, this their last day on earth, unveiled to the gaze of the multitude, who saw them, with sentiments of admiration, respect, and pity, about to offer themselves voluntary and expiatory sacrifices for their deceased lord, to enjoy his society in the regions above. The chiefs headed the procession, unarmed, and on foot.

Herbert's description of Hialmar's funeral, will suit exactly the young Prince of *Udeyapura.*

" On a rich pall the chief is laid,
" Clad in bright steel, with helmed head,
" The iron gauntlet in his hand,
" And in its grasp the elfin brand;
" He seems like living there to lie,
" Save the wan cheek and rayless eye."

These remarks were unintentionally and incidentally brought in. Our *A'sí-garh* reminded me of the *Asgard,* the first city which the *Asi,* under *Odin,* had; and Chand's mythology has long suggested the ideas of comparison, independent of many other fancies, which afford some proofs, tending to show a common Scythian origin of *Odin's* colony, and of some, at least, of the martial races of India. Our Saxon ancestry brought customs with them into Britain, which belong to the East. But after all, if these be only coincidences, it may not be uninteresting to remark the same train of mind in countries so widely different, as Scandinavia and the banks of the Indus.

But it is time to close these remarks. I will take the liberty of doing so in the words of the son and successor of Chand, and with which the work closes, the sack of Delhi, and death of Prince Raina-sí, the son of Pṛĭthwí-rája.

" Glory to Pṛĭthwírája! Renown to the *Chóhán!* Renown to Prince " Raina-sí, who gave his head for the land, watered with his blood. Un- " fading be the wreath of praise. He, whose wisdom is blind, cannot un- " derstand this story. Should princes not reward you * in reading it, " murmur not, Hingulάj † will reward you. To hear the renown of " Pṛĭthwírája, the jackall would assume the part of the lion. To hear " the renown of Pṛĭthwírája, the miser would unlock his stores. To " hear the renown of Pṛĭthwírája, the dumb would shake his head in " delight; for its relation is a sea of virtues. The ignorant, on hearing it, " will become stored with wisdom. In hearing it, the coward will become " a hero. It is not the bard who says this, it is Saraswatí herself: for " Umá ‡ delights to hear it; and the lord of the lyre § dwells in its praise.

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* Addressed to his brother, and future bards.

† The patroness of bards.

‡ One of the many names of Durga'.

§ Na'reda.

" The ills of life it can remove; it will remove even your foe. It can
" bestow offspring and riches; and, though death it cannot remove, it can
" cause it to be envied."

Substance of an Inscription in Sanscrit on a Stone, from the Ruins of the Palace of PRĬTHWÍRÁJA, *at A'sí (vulgarly Hánsí).*

After salutation to DÉVÍ, and an invocation [comprised in one stanza] to MURÁVI, or CRĬSHŃA, it recites, that " PRĬTHWÍRÁJA, sprung of the race of *Cháhamána*, was sovereign of the earth (*Mahí-pati*). The brother of his mother was KILHAŃA, of the *Grahilóte* race, a glorious warrior, skilful in archery, and replete with good qualities (profundity, liberality, and beauteousness) as the ocean with gems.

" Considering the valiant HAMMÍRA to be, as it were, the pivot of the whole earth, the prince [a string of epithets in the king's praise], pleased with his various good qualities, bestowed on him the strong fortress of *A'sí*.

" In that fortress is a gateway of noble architecture, constructed by KILHAŃA; and, corresponding with it, two extensive apartments; and eastward of it two halls: the victorious treasury of the foe's wealth, and his own abode."

The inscription proceeds, through six more stanzas, to laud PRĬTHWÍRÁJA, KILHAŃA, and HAMMÍRA, in a strain of hyperbole, in the course of which there is mention of the D'ÓḌA race; and it concludes with the date *Samvat* 1224, *Mágha*, light-half, 7th.

[illegible] 1829

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ERRATA.

Page
295, line 20, *after* difficult, add *to cure.*
313, line 13, *cancel the* comma *after* Nakschi.
315, note †, *for* Barooch, *read* Baroach.
316, note *, *for* Barooch, *read* Baroach.
317, line 6, *instead of* from, *read* for.
317, line 18, *for* that word is, *read* a word.
317, note **, *for* Silisi, *read* Siliti.
320, note †, *for* author, *read* compilers.
322, line 3, *for* Vallus, *read* Valens.
322, line 26, *for* Segestes, *read* Sigertis, *in this and every other place where it occurs.*
327, line 25, *for* lived, *read* live.
330, line 22, *after* no information, *add* from them.
332, note *, *after* Plate, *add XII.*
333, line 22, *for* Sigestides, *read* Sigertides.

Page
333, note †, *after* the father of, *add* or.
334, line 6, *for* Lankra, *read* Sankra.
335, line 1, *for* Chishna, *read* Crishna.
335, note †, *for* Lymurita, *read* Lymurica.
336, line 26, *a* comma *to be placed after* Sun.
336, line 27, *a* period *to be placed after* doubt.
336, note ‡, *for* Tad-tar, *read* Tad-mor.
338, line 3, *for* Agizzi, *read* Azizzi.
338, note ‡, *after* Plate, *add XII.*
339, line 13, *for* supposed, *read* regretted.
341, line 18, *for* it was, *read* others were.
341, note †, *for* Bhalla, *read* Bhala.
Ditto, — *for* Renandot, *read* Renaudot, *in both instances.*

X. *Analytical Account of the Pancha Tantra, illustrated with occasional Translations. By Horace Hayman Wilson, Esq. M.R.A.S., Secretary to the Asiatic Society of Bengal.*

Read June 5, 1824.

"As the active world is inferior to the rational soul, so Fiction gives to mankind what History denies, and in some measure satisfies the mind with shadows, when it cannot enjoy the substance."—Lord Bacon.

What the profound observer, quoted above, pronounced generally of fiction, is peculiarly pertinent, when applied to the Hindus. The history of their progress, in the arts of civilized life, is so clouded with mythology, and overcast by time, that our efforts to penetrate the obscurity, have been hitherto of little avail. As the mind, therefore, has little substantial gratification to expect, from this branch of intellectual enjoyment, it may be permitted to indulge in the shadows, that are abundantly presented, and dwell with more interest, than the subject would otherwise excite, on the copious materials afforded by the mass of Hindu fable, within its reach.

The elucidation, which such an inquiry promises to afford of the past manners of the Hindus, before they were metamorphosed, and degraded by the influence of foreign subjugation, constitutes an advantage of more than imaginary value. We see what they were, more distinctly, than through the medium of any general description; and can trust to their own pictures of themselves, more confidently, than to any crude and imperfect exhibitions, delineated from present experience, or circumscribed research. In this point of view, therefore, Hindu fable becomes a valuable accession to real knowledge, and serviceably supplies that want of sober history, which all Oriental inquirers have such perpetual occasion to lament.

It is not only with respect to themselves, however, that the fictions of the Hindus are calculated to add to our stock of knowledge: and the influence, which they have exercised on the state of manners in Europe, will only be duly appreciated, when we shall be better acquainted with the extent of the obligations we owe them. By whatever channel they may have been conveyed to the West, the Oriental origin of most of the tales, which first

roused the inventive faculties of our ancestors, is universally admitted; and the advocates of the Gothic or Arabic origin of romance, agree in referring its birth-place to the East.

It is now too late to inquire, whether we are to consider Persia as the birth-place of fictitious narrative: for, if such narrative was cultivated there, it must have been clad in the *Pahlevi* language; and both body and dress are irrecoverably lost. We must, therefore, be content to admit the claims of the Hindus, amongst whom we may trace the original of much that has interested, and amused, our forefathers and ourselves.

The oldest collection of fables and tales, of the class here intended, is the work that passes by the title of the Fables of *Bidpai*, or *Pilpay*. The history of this work is too well known to require any elucidation. Mr. Wilkins, and Sir William Jones, brought to light its original, from amongst the hidden stores of Sanscrit literature; and Mr. Colebrooke gave the text itself of the *Hitópadésa* to the public. The learning and industry of the Baron de Sacy have finally traced the work through all its stages; and there are few subjects of investigation, the history of which has been more successfully ascertained, than the Bibliographical adventures of the salutary instructions of *Vishńusarmá*, or *Fables of Pilpay*.

Although the stories of the *Hitópadésa* are undoubtedly identical with most of those, which are found in all the forms of Pilpay's fables, yet it has been clearly shown by Mr. Colebrooke, that it is not the source from which its successors have been directly derived. It is, in fact, itself but a scion of the same parent stock, and in common with the rest, originates, as it indeed admits, from an older collection, the *Pancha Tantra*. The text of this work is not very rare in India, and it were therefore to have been wished, that it had been selected for translation, in preference to the *Hitópadésa*; but the opportunity has passed. The identity of the two works, for the greater part, renders the translation of both, a work of supererogation: and, fully as the topic has been developed, it is likely that a main defect will long continue to mutilate it, at the very outset. The deficiency has, in some measure, been supplied by the sketch, given by Mr. Colebrooke, of the contents of the *Pancha Tantra*; but, as his chief object was only to substantiate the greater affinity between it and the *Kalila Damana*, than between the Arabic work and the *Hitópadésa*, he has not prosecuted its details farther than was sufficient to effect his purpose. In the want, therefore, of a full analysis, and in

the little likelihood that exists, of a translation of the entire work being now published, it has been presumed that a more minute account of the *Pancha Tantra*, than has yet been given to the world, will not be an unacceptable communication to the Royal Asiatic Society of London.

In offering a detail of the contents of the *Pancha Tantra*, it was of course desirable to collate them with those of the *Hitópadéśa*, and *Kalila Damana*, which has been accordingly effected; and to relieve the dryness of analytical detail, as well as to convey an idea of the merits of the composition, it has been thought advisable to introduce translations of a number of the stories. Some affinities have also been pointed out between the narratives of the *Pancha Tantra*, and those met with in popular works in Europe; but the want of access to books has necessarily limited this part of the inquiry. Some illustrations of national or literary peculiarities have also been occasionally, but sparingly, added; lest the paper should be rendered too voluminous, and under the impression that many members of the Society are better able to appreciate the extent to which such illustrations may be needed, and better qualified to supply them.

The *Pancha Tantra* is so called from its being divided into five *Tantras*, or sections, and is referred to under that name, in the *Hitópadéśa*. It is better known, however, in common speech, by the denomination of *Panchópákhyána*, which may be rendered the "Five (collections of) Stories:" and under this appellation, the work may be met with, in most parts of India.

The ensuing analysis is founded upon an examination of three copies of the work; one of which was procured in Calcutta; the others, in Benares. These copies agree in all essential points, although they present, abundantly, the variations to be expected in compilations of such a character; where stanzas, and even stories, are often omitted or inserted, at the pleasure of the transcriber.

The invocation, with which, like all *Hindu* works, the *Pancha Tantra* commences, differs very importantly from that of the *Hitópadéśa*. In the latter work, it is addressed to SIVA, in the former to SARASWATÍ. One manuscript, indeed, calls upon all the *Hindu Pantheon*, on BRAHMÁ, RUDRA, KUMÁRA, HARI, INDRA, YAMA, &c. &c., the elements, the planets, the *Munis*, *Rishis*, and all the other objects of Hindu reverence, to be propitious to the reader; but this is a solitary reading, and a probable interpolation. The homage to SARASWATÍ is followed by a tribute of respect to the authors of ethical compositions, of whom are named, MENU, VÁCHA-

SPATI, UŚANAS (SUCRA), PARÁSARA, VYÁSA, and CHÁṆAKYA.* It is then stated, that VISHŃU SARMÁ, having extracted the essence of all the most celebrated works of this class, composed the *Níti* † *Sástra,* in five Tantras, or chapters. We are then introduced to the frame work of the whole, the education of the King's sons by VISHNU-SARMÁ; on which occasion the apologues were composed. This is introduced in the *Hitópadéśa,* but with some variations; and, as it affords an example of the concurrences and disagreements of the two collections, I shall give it at length from the *Pancha Tantra.*

"There is a city in the Southern country, named *Mihilárópyam,* the king of which, learned, munificent, distinguished among princes and scholars, was named AMARA SACTI. He had three sons, youths of no capacity, nor diligence: VASU SACTI, BHADRA SACTI, ‡ and ANANTA SACTI. Observing them averse from study, the king called his counsellors, and said to them, "you are aware that my sons are little inclined to application, and incapable of reflection. When I contemplate them, my kingdom is full of thorns, and yields me no pleasure. It is said by the wise, 'Better is a son unborn; better is a dead son, than one who is a fool. The first may cause affliction for a little while, but a fool, as long as life endures.' Again, 'of what use is a cow who has no milk with her calf; of what use is a son who has neither knowledge, nor virtue? Better it is, that a wife be barren, that she bear daughters or dead children, and that the family

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* Authors of very different character. The first is the Legislator, whose code has been rendered into English by Sir William Jones. The works of VA'CHASPATI, the teacher of the Gods, and of SUCRA, the preceptor of the (*daityas*) Titans, have not, it is believed, been found on earth.* PARA'S'ARA, the father of VYA'SA, is the reputed author of an institute of laws, and the chief interlocutor of the *Vishnu-Purán'a.* To CHA'NAKYA is ascribed a treatise on (*Níti*) regal polity, which, though no longer met with, is cited by authors of some antiquity, as DANDI, in the *Dasa Kumára.* CHA'NAKYA was the minister of CHANDRAGUPTA, and the chief agent in his elevation to the throne of *Magad'ha.*

† Sir Wm. Jones translated the term *Níti* by Ethics, and he has been followed by all *Sanscrit* scholars, in the interpretation. This is not, however, the precise import of the term. As applied to a class of writings, or division of science, it would be, more correctly, polity, the art of regal administration, both in peace and war, including the moral, as well as political, obligations of a sovereign.

‡ In some copies, UGRA-SACTI.—H.T.C.

* VA'CHESPATI is the same with VRIHASPATI, as USANAS is identified with SUCRA. Institutes of law, ascribed to VRIHASPATI and to US'ANAS, are extant.—H.T.C.

become extinct, than that a son, endowed with your form, wealth, and family-credit, should want understanding.' If, therefore, by any means, their minds can be roused, do you declare it." On this, a counsellor replied, "Prince, the study of grammar alone is the work of twelve years, how then is a knowledge of *Dharma*, *Art'ha*, *Káma*, and *Móksha*,* to be speedily conveyed?" Another counsellor, named Sumati, observed, "Prince, the powers of man are limited by his transitory existence; but to acquire a knowledge of language alone, demands much time. It is better that we think of some means of communicating the substance of each science, in a compendious form; as it is said, 'The *Sabda Sástra* (Philology) is a boundless ocean: life is short, and the difficulties are many; the essence, therefore, is to be taken, as the swan extracts the milk from the water.'† There is a Brahman, named Vishnu Sarmá, celebrated for his perfect acquisition of the sciences. To him entrust your sons, and he will render them well informed." On hearing this, the king sent for Vishnú Sarmá, and addressed him, "Venerable *Brahman*, confer a favour upon me, by instructing these princes in polite literature, and rendering them superior to the youths, their companions; in recompense of which, I promise you lands of large extent." Vishnu Sarmá replied, "Hear, O king, my words. I am not a retailer of knowledge for lands and wealth; but if I do not instruct your sons in the *Nítí Sástra*, I will forego my own name. There is no need to say more. I do not utter this vaunt, through any desire of wealth; for wealth is useless to any one whose passions are mortified, and subdued: I wish but to gratify you, and to do the will of Saraswatí. Let it be written, therefore, that if, in six months from this day, I do not make the princes more proficient than many people, in various branches of know-ledge, it shall not be allowed to me, a *Brahman*, to point out the way of God." The king, highly gratified by this assurance, delivered his sons to

* The four objects or occupations of human life: Duty, Wealth, Desire, and Final Liberation.

† This is a popular notion among the Hindus, originating, probably, in the colour of the bird.*

* Or rather, because the bird seems, as the Hindus apprehend, to extract his food, by suction, from solution in water, wherefore, a bird of this genus is considered to be an emblem of discrimination, as being capable of separating milk from water.—H. T. C.

him, and retired; and VISHNU SARMÁ, taking the princes with him, repaired to his own house; where, for their instruction, he composed these five chapters: *Mitra bhéda*, dissension of friends; *Mitra prápti*, acquisition of friends; *Kákólukíya*, inveterate enmity; *Lábdha prasamana*, loss of advantage; *Aparíkshita cáritwa*, inconsiderateness. Reading these, the princes were, in six months, highly accomplished; and the five Tantras became famous throughout the world. Whosoever reads this work, acquires the whole *Níti Sástra*, and will never be overthrown by INDRA himself."

The commencement of the *Pancha Tantra*, which is thus given, differs materially, in some respects, from the *Hitópadésa*, of which the *Mitralábha*, or acquisition of friends, constitutes the first, and the *Mitra bhéda*, or dissension of friends, the second book. The arrangement of the *Pancha Tantra* is, no doubt, the original, as the same is observed in the *Kalila Damana* of ABDALLAH MOKAFFAH, exclusive of the avowedly additional prolegomena. It may here also be observed, that in the large collection of stories, made by *Sóma-déva* in the eleventh century, and usually known as the *Vrihat Kat'há*, we have a chapter appropriated to the same stories, that occur in this section of the *Pancha Tantra*, following nearly the same order. I shall, therefore, refer occasionally to this series, also in my remarks; and shall here state, that it begins in the same manner as the *Pancha Tantra*, and its Arabic translation, with the journey of the merchant, and his abandonment of his ox, *Sanjívaka*, in the forests, on the borders of the *Yamuná*.

Many varieties of minor importance occur in this part of the story, not only as related in the *Hitópadésa*, but as told in different copies of the *Pancha Tantra*. They are, however, of no consequence. It is only worth while to observe, that the different copies of the latter agree in naming *Mihilárópya*,* as not only the residence of AMARA SACTI, but as the city whence the merchant departs. One manuscript has a laboured description the splendour and strength of the town. Now, in general, in both the *Pancha Tantra* and the *Hitópadésa*, the places named are real;† and there seems every reason, therefore, to conclude, that *Mihilárópya* was a city, in the south of

* In some copies the name is written Mahilárópya.—H. T. C.

† So Agnolo Firenzuolo, the Florentine translator, has laid the scenes of the several narratives in various real localities, transferred to Italy.

India, of some celebrity, when these stories were first composed. We need not be much at a loss for its identification, as the name approaches sufficiently to *Mihilapur*, *Meliapur*, or St. Thomé; where our own records indicate a city of some consequence, in the beginning of the Christian era, as the scene of the labours and martyrdom of St. Thomas, occurrences very far from invalidated by any arguments, yet adduced against the truth of the tradition. The *Hitópadésa* changes the residence of the King to *Pátaliputra*, on the Ganges; and although it leaves the merchant's residence in the south, it alters the name to *Suverńavati*, that is, the "Golden." Hamilton calls St. Thomé, *Mailapur*, "The City of the Peacock," and the import of *Maila*, in the Tamul language, is a Peacock, whilst *pur* is the ordinary *Sanscrit* addition, signifying town. There is no good authority, however, for supposing this to be the original designation of *Meliapur*, and it may be only a vernacular modification of the name, whilst *Mihilárópya* furnishes a much nearer approximation to the *Maliarpha* of Ptolemy, which has been hitherto supposed the same with *Meliapur*, or St. Thomé.

The name of the ox that falls, and is left behind, is in all the books, *Sanjívaka*, whence the Arabic *Shanzebeh*; those of the jackals, *Karataka* and *Damanaka*, altered to *Kalila* and *Damana*. The lion is uniformly termed in the Sanscrit *Pingalaka*; the Arabic leaves him unnamed.

The first story, in all the *Hindu* books is, "the monkey and the timber." It is the second, in the Arabic. The story of "the man, who could not avoid his destiny," related by the merchant's servant, is an addition; being, however, grafted upon a verse, in the original, which inculcates the irresistible force of fate. "What fate protects, is safe, though it be unwatched; and that which is guarded with the greatest precaution, if destiny defend it not, will surely be destroyed. One who is left without a guardian, in a forest, shall escape with life; whilst another perishes in the house, and in spite of every care."

There is a very great variety in the different manuscripts, in the passages that follow. The *Hitópadésa* has also the story of "the Dog and the Ass," which is not found in the *Pancha Tantra*, *Kalila-Damana*, or *Vrihat Kathá*: the next story, in all these three, being "the Fox and Drum," which the *Hitópadésa* omits.

The *Hitópadésa* has again the story of "the Cat and the Lion," in which it differs from all the rest; whilst the *Pancha Tantra* has the story of "*Dantila*, a merchant of *Varddhamána*," which does not occur in the Arabic. The

merchant incurs the displeasure of the sweeper of the palace; who in revenge, mutters insinuations against his character, for the king to overhear. When questioned farther, he pretends not to know what he has uttered, and to have talked in his sleep: the insinuations, however, produce their effect. When the merchant has discovered the cause of his disgrace, and reconciled the menial *Górabha*, the latter takes an opportunity of venting an insinuation against the king himself, so wholly absurd, that the prince is convinced, his servant prattles unmeaningly, and he acknowledges the merchant's innocence. The object of this story is to shew, that the meanest individuals, about the person of a prince, are not to be offended with impunity.

The story of "the goblin, *Ghantakarna*," is peculiar to the *Hitópadéśa*. That of "*Kandarpakétu*," agrees in the general course, although not in the first part, with the adventures of "*Déva Sarma*," in the *Pancha Tantra*, which latter is precisely followed in the story of the *Nasika*, or religious man, in the *Kalila Damana*; and *Tahid*, in the *Anvari Soheili*. One of the incidents of this story has attracted extraordinary admiration, if we may judge by the endlessly varied copies, and modifications of it, which have appeared in the East, and in the West: the loss of her nose by the confidante, and its supposed recovery by the intriguante, for whom she had been substituted, affording a miraculous proof of the wife's innocence, imposing upon her husband, has been retold in a vast number of ways. It is repeated, with different degrees of modification, in the "Roman and Turkish Tales," in the "Decameron of Boccacio," "The *Novelle* of Malespini," "The *Cent Nouvelles*," "The *Cheveux Coupés*," a fablieau, by Guerin, in the "*Contes* of La Fontaine," in the "Women pleased, of Beaumont and Fletcher," and in "The Guardian of Massinger." The story itself, as told in the *Hitópadéśa*, has been versified by Hoppner; and, as narrated in the *Anvari Soheili*, it has been rendered into English verse, by Atkinson.

The next story, in the *Pancha Tantra*, is omitted in all the works, derived from this original. It is, however, a well known story, being the same as *Malak* and *Shirin* in the Persian Tales, and the Labourer and Flying Car in the additional stories from the Arabian Nights. It is also narrated, with some variation, in the *Vrihat Kathá*. The Muhammedan contrivance of a box, and the personification of Muhammed, are rather clumsy substitutes for the fiction of the original, in which the adventurer, in love with a princess, personates *Vishnu*, and rides on a wooden representation of *Garúda*

guided by a pin, and moving by magic, the prototype of the flying steed of Magellan; " the wondrous horse of brass, on which the Tartar king did ride," and other self-moving machines of celebrity, in oriental and chivalric romance.

The story of " the *Gópí* and her two lovers," is here peculiar to the *Hitópadésa*; but it is familiar to European story-telling. It is the third of the three fabliaux, De la Mauvaise Femme, and occurs in Le Roman des Sept Sages, and the Novelle of Bandello, Boccacio, Sansovino, and other similar collections.

The next story of " The Two Crows," is common to all the collections; as is that, interwoven with it, of " The Crane, or Swan, killed by the Crab." This portion of the original has been made great use of by the author of the *Bahar Danish*, who has compiled his story of " The Mouse and Prince of Ghilan," almost wholly of extracts from the *Pancha Tantra*. This portion of the latter work contains a quotation of some interest, in the literary history of the Hindus. It is a passage from the astronomical writings of VARÁHAMIHIRA, and occurs, without variation, in the two best manuscripts of the original. This citation is justly considered, by Mr. Colebrooke, as a proof of the astronomer's priority to the composition of the *Pancha Tantra*, and a satisfactory corroboration of other arguments, favourable to his existence, at the time usually assigned to him, in the fifth century of the Christian era.*

A striking proof occurs here, also, of the more exact correspondence between the *Pancha Tantra* and *Kalila Damana*, than between the latter and *Hitópadésa*. In the story of " The Two Crows," the interwoven story in both the former works, is that of " The Crane, or Swan, killed by the Crab;" and it is not till the apologue of the Crows is closed, that the " Lion led into a Snare by the Hare," occurs. In the *Hitópadésa* the first is omitted, and the second put in its place; and instead of a Hare, the beguiler of the forest monarch, is an old Stag. The story of " The Crab and (*Vaca*) Crane," is not found in the *Hitópadésa* earlier than the last section, or *Sand'hi*, to which several of the fables, belonging to this part of the *Pancha Tantra*, are transferred.

The next story, " The Flea, the Bug, and the King," is omitted from the *Hitópadésa*. It occurs in the *Kalila Damana*, but not exactly in the same

* As. Res. IX. 364, and Hindu Algebra, Introd. Also Preface to Sanscrit Dictionary, xiv.

order. The adventures of the Jackall, who falls into the dyer's vat, are not given in the Arabic version. They are told in the *Hitópadésa*, but in a different section, that of *Vigraha*, or war. They are also copied in the *Bahar Danish*.

The next story of "The Lion with his three Ministers (the Tiger, Crow, and Jackall), and the Camel," whom they ensnare and destroy, holds the same place in the *Pancha Tantra*, and *Kalila Damana*. It is briefly told in the *Hitópadésa*, but in the *Sand'hi* section, or Chapter on Peace.

The ensuing story of the *Tittibha* occurs in all the three works, in the same place; but there is a great difference in its internal arrangements. In the *Hitópadésa*, it includes no other apologue whatever; in the *Kalila Damana*, only one, "The Tortoise and the Geese;" in the *Pancha Tantra*, it comprehends five: "The Tortoise and the Geese;" "The three Fishes;" "The Elephant, destroyed by the Sparrow, the Woodpecker, the Fly, and the Frog;" "The Swan, creeping Plant, and Fowler;" and "The Ram killed by the Lion." In the *Kalila Damana*, the first, as observed, occurs in the same place, the second somewhat earlier, and the other three are omitted.*

In the *Hitópadésa*, the two first occur in the fourth section; the other three are wanting.

The story of the *Tittibha*, or *Titawé*, is one of the decisive proofs of the Indian origin of these fables. The personified ocean, or *Varuńa*, and *Garuda*, the bird of *Vishńu*, are inadequately represented by the *Vakil al Behr* and the *Anka*, the king and lord of the feathered race. But the name of the bird is alone sufficient. The *Titawé*, although it is found in the Arabic lexicons, and is said to be a species of the *Kátá*,† has very little appearance of an Arabic term; nor can it be resolved to any satisfactory root. It is, therefore, probably only a transcript of the Sanscrit *Tittibha*, Bengali *Tittibh*, and Hindi *Tit'hiri*: the names, throughout India, for a kind of Sand-

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* They appear to have been wanting in Mr. Sotheby's copy of the *Pancha Tantra*.—H.T.C.

† The *Kátá* is described as a bird frequenting watery places. Golius and Meninski explain (قطا) *Kátá*, avis columbæ similis magnitudine et formâ, quæ gregatim volat; et e longinquo aquam petere novit, vocem, kattá, edens, unde illi nomen. There are said also to be two kinds, one much larger than the other. Burckhardt, in his Travels in Syria, calls the *Katta* a species of partridge, and mentions their being met with in the mountains of Belba, Kerek, Djebel, and Thera, in such flocks, that the Arab boys often kill two or three at a time, by throwing a stick at them. The *Tittibha* is encountered in numerous flocks, but is in size unlike either a pigeon or a partridge, and is a very different bird.

piper,* very numerous on the sandy banks and shores of rivers. The strutting gait of this bird is supposed, universally, to indicate his inordinate conceit; and thence the appropriate selection of him, in the story, as defying the sea. This characteristic is so commonly attributed to the *Tittibha*, that it is proverbially said to sleep on its back, with its legs upwards, to prevent the sky from falling.

This section of the *Hitópadésa*, or *Mitra Bhéda*, contains no more apologues, but follows that of The Birds and Sea, with the engagement between the Lion and the Bull, and the death of the latter. In the *Pancha Tantra*, the *Kalila Damana*, and *Vrihat Kat'hâ*, the Jackalls converse together, during the contest, and narrate several stories. The first, in the former work, is that of the Lion tricked out of the Camel's flesh by the Jackall, which is not related in any of the rest, being very like that of The Lion, his Ministers, and the Camel, noticed above.

A small cluster of stories occurs in the *Pancha Tantra*, which are all omitted in the other works. They are peculiarly *Hindú*; and, as novelties affording some relief to the dry detail hitherto pursued, we shall translate them.

"In *Ayód'hyá*, the capital of *Kósalá*,† reigned a monarch of great splendour and power, named PURUSHÓTTAMA. On one occasion, the Governor of the Forests came and announced to him, that the woodland chiefs were all in a state of rebellion, instigated and headed by VINDHYAKA, the Raja of the *Vindhya*‡ hills. The king sent his chief minister BALABHADRA, to quell the rebels.

"When BALABHADRA was gone, there came to the capital, at the close of the rains, a *Sramańaka*,§ or mendicant of the *Baudd'ha* religion, who, by his skill in divination, his knowledge of hours, omens, aspects, and ascensions, his dexterity in solving numbers, answering questions, and detect-

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* The *Tatihrá* or *Tatíhrí* (Sansc. *Tittibha*) is a Jacana, the Parra Goensis of Gmelin, or Tringa Goensis of Latham. See Am. Dict. p. 125, and Hunter's Hind. Dict. I. 514.—H.T.C.

† The province of Oude and its capital, the modern Faizabad, is usually identified with the ancient city, in popular belief.

‡ The authority of the *Kós'alá* monarch appears to have extended much beyond the limits of the modern province of Oude: an inscription found at *Ratnapur* in the *Chatís-ghar* district, dated *Saliváhana* 781, or A.D. 859, states that province to be dependent upon the sovereign of *Kós'alá*.

§ From subsequent passages, however, it appears that the usual confusion of *Baudd'ha* and *Jaina* occurs in the *Pancha Tantra*; and that, in fact, the latter alone is intended, whichever be named.

ing things covertly concealed, and his proficiency in all similar branches of knowledge, acquired such fame and influence, that it might be said he had purchased the country, and it was his own. The report of his reputation at last reached the king, who sent for him, and treating him with great civility, asked him whether it was true, that sages could tell the destinies of others. The mendicant replied, Your Majesty will know by the result. They then entered into conversation, in which he so entertained the king, that his daily society became indispensible.

"One day he absented himself from court; and on the next, when he made his appearance, he accounted for his absence, by stating that he had been upon a visit to Paradise; and that the deities had sent by him their compliments to the king. The king was simple enough to believe him, and was filled with astonishment and delight. His admiration of this marvellous faculty so engrossed his thoughts, that the duties of his state, and the pleasures of his palace, were equally neglected.

"Things were in this condition, when the valiant BALABHADRA, having reduced the forest chieftains to obedience, returned. To his surprise, he found the king in a close conference with a naked mendicant, instead of being, as usual, surrounded by his ministers. Having ascertained from the latter, the pretensions of the ascetic, he approached the monarch, and inquired, if what he had heard of the mendicant's celestial visit, was truth. The king assured him that it was, and the ascetic offered to satisfy the general's apparent scepticism, by departing for *Swarga* in his presence. With this intent, the king and his courtiers accompanied the *Sramanaka* to his cell, which he entered, and closed the door. After some delay, BALABHADRA inquired of the king when they were to see the mendicant again. He answered, 'have patience; the sage upon these occasions quits his earthly body, and assumes an ethereal person, with which alone he can approach INDRA's heaven.' 'If this is the case,' replied BALABHADRA, 'bring wood and fire, and let us burn his cell.' 'Why so,' asked the king. 'So please your Majesty,' answered the general, 'by consuming the earthly body of the ascetic, we shall prevent his re-assuming it, and then your Majesty will always have an angelical personage in your company. A case of this kind is well known.

"'In *Rájagriha* dwelt a *Bráhman* named *Déva Sarmá*. He had no children, a subject of bitter affliction to his wife, who could not look upon a neighbour's infant without tears. At last her husband desired her to desist

from farther lamentation, as by the efficacy of some mystic words, he had secured her having a son of eminent beauty, and auspicious destiny. Highly delighted with this prophecy (indications of the fulfilment of which soon began to appear), the *Bráhman's* wife anticipated eagerly the period of her delivery. What therefore was her surprise, and the horror of her attendants, when the offspring, so anxiously sighed for, and impatiently expected proved to be a snake. The assistants exclaimed, let the monster be destroyed: but the parent, with maternal affection, interfered to preserve her progeny, and carefully protected and reared the snake.

"After a time, the nuptial festivals of a neighbour's son awoke the envy of *Déva Sarmá's* wife, and she reproached her husband for not having thought of a suitable match for their child. He replied, I would do so, if I could get admittance to *Pátálá*, and present my supplications to VASUKI.* I do not think any other so great a fool, as to wed his daughter to a son like thine. Finding, however, his wife was sadly distressed, he proposed, in order to divert her thoughts, that they should travel; and equipping themselves plentifully for their journey, they set out. After some months, they arrived at a city, named *Bhattanagar*, where they were hospitably received and entertained, on the night of their arrival, by an acquaintance. In the morning the *Bráhman's* friend asked him why he had come, and whither he was going. The *Bráhman* told him he was in search of a wife for his son; on which the other offered him his own daughter, a girl of great beauty, and insisted on his taking her away with him. Accordingly, *Déva Sarmá* returned to his own city, with his destined daughter-in-law. When the people of the city saw her, they opened their eyes in admiration of her grace and loveliness, and asked her attendants, how they could think of sacrificing such a jewel of a girl to a serpent. Their words filled her servants with distress, and they were urgent with the damsel to effect her escape. She refused, saying, It must not be; there are three things, which are final from the first: The command of a king, the vow of an ascetic, and the gift of a maiden. That too which is previously resolved by destiny, cannot fail to be, as it happened to *Pushpaka*, and the Gods.

"The maiden's attendants now asked her, who *Pushpaka* was, and she thus proceeded:

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* The serpent monarch of *Pátálá*, the region under the earth, inhabited by the *Nágas*, or snakes.

"*Pushpaka* was the favourite parrot of INDRA, a bird of wonderful beauty, extraordinary abilities, and prodigious learning. One day he was perched on INDRA's hand, and was repeating the hymns of the *Védas*, when YAMA arrived. The parrot immediately flew away abruptly. The Deities afterwards asked him, why he had withdrawn; he replied, how could he face the destroyer of life. The Deities, in order to remove his fears, assured him that they would protect him; and, prevailing on him to accompany them, they returned to YAMA, and begged him, at their intercession, to abstain from ever taking away the life of the parrot. YAMA replied, that he knew nothing about the matter, and referred them to KÁLA (Time), to whom they accordingly repaired. Time referred them to Death, who, he said, was at hand: and they hastened to prefer their suit to him. They no sooner encountered the grisly terror, than the parrot fell dead. Exceedingly distressed and perplexed by this accident, they returned to YAMA, and inquired of him what it meant; he replied, that Fate had fixed the parrot's life, and that no care on their parts would have been of any avail.

"Therefore, I say, whatever is foredoomed by destiny, cannot fail to come to pass.

"In this manner she resisted their persuasions, and the marriage took place. She performed her duties diligently, feeding her serpent-husband during the day with milk, and keeping him in her chamber at night, in a spacious basket. One night she was alarmed by the appearance of a man in her chamber, and jumping up in terror, she ran to the door to make her escape. The person called to her to stop, and dismiss her fears, as he was her husband; and, to assure her, reassumed his ophitic form, and crawled into the basket, whence, immediately after, he again issued, in all the bloom and vigour of human adolescence, and glittering with gold and gems.

"In the morning, DÉVA SARMÁ, who had observed what was going forward, approached the basket, before his son was risen, and seizing the deserted skin of the snake, threw it into the fire; in consequence of which the youth was constrained to adhere to his natural figure, and continued ever after to constitute the pride of his parents, and the happiness of his family.'

"The king of *Ayód'hyá* having heard this narrative from BALABHADRA, hesitated no longer to follow his advice. The mendicant's cell was therefore immediately set on fire, and he perished in the flames."

The next story in the *Pancha Tantra*, and *Kalila Damana*, is that of The Monkeys and Fire-fly; and the moral is stated precisely to the same effect in both, that it is absurd to try to bend a stubborn tree, or prove a sword upon a stone.

The story of Dharma Buddhi and Dushta Buddhi, the honest man and the rogue, as narrated in the *Pancha Tantra*, is faithfully followed in the Arabic, with the exception of an interwoven story, omitted in the latter. It is the story of the Vaca, or Crane, who tempted the Ichneumon to destroy the Snake, and was afterwards destroyed by the same. The story occurs in the *Sand'hi* section of the *Hitópadéśa*.

The witty story of The Rats who eat iron, and the Hawks that carry off children, is the next in the *Pancha Tantra*, and *Kalila Damana*. It is the last of the section in the latter; but we have a few more stories in the former work, as the story of The Two Parrots who learned respectively harsh and gentle phraseology, according to their natural dispositions, to prove that merits and defects are innate.

The next story agrees, in name, with the last in the *Kalila Damana*, being that of The King's Son and his Companions: the resemblance, however, proceeds no farther, the incidents being quite different, although some, if not all, of those in the Arabic tale, are to be found in other Sanscrit works. In the *Pancha Tantra*, a Prince, a Minister's, and a Merchant's Son, pass their days together in the woods and groves, hunting, riding on horses, or elephants, driving cars, and practising archery. Their fathers reproach them for their neglect of their several duties; and, in resentment, they determine to leave their home. They go to *Róhánáchalá*, (Adam's Peak in Ceylon), where they find each a gem of great price; and to preserve it, on their way back, through the forests, where lay the *Phellis*, or Villages, of the *Bhillas*, they swallow the gems, and then convey them home in safety, although they narrowly escape being ripped open by the *Pallipati*, or chief of the foresters.

The Prince acquires a sovereignty of his own, and leaving to his two friends the direction of affairs, amuses himself in his palace, after his own fashion. He has a pet Monkey, as it is said "Parrots, Pheasants, Pigeons, Monkeys, and their like, are naturally the especial favourites of Kings." This Monkey he sets to watch him, as he sleeps in a pavillion, in his garden. A troublesome bee settles on the Prince's face, in spite of the Monkey's pains to drive him off, till the latter, highly incensed, snatches up his master's sword, and, making a blow at the bee, cuts off the Raja's head.

This apologue, therefore, is a very old acquaintance, the moral is the same: a sensible foe is preferable to a foolish friend.* The death of SANJIVAKA, the grief of the Lion, and the councils of the Jackalls, close this, the first and longest division of the *Pancha Tantra*, in the same manner as the corresponding sections of the *Kalila Damana*, *Hitópadés'a*, and *Vrihat Kathá*. This first section, according to the original enumeration, comprehends thirty-one stories.†

SECTION SECOND.

THE ACQUISITION OF FRIENDS.

THE *Mitra Prápti*,‡ or acquisition of friends, is the same as the *Mitra Lábha* of the *Hitópadésa*, with the difference, only, of transposition. It is the same also as the seventh chapter of the *Kalila Damana*: the sixth being a probable addition of the translator, who, in his idea of poetical justice, has put *Damana* upon his trial, and condemned him to death; occurrences not hinted at in the Hindu work. Neither have we the few narratives that occur in his section; nor are the moral remarks, or the judicial proceedings, of a Hindu complexion.

The *Mitra Prápti* opens like the *Mitra Lábha*, with the description of the scene of action, placed by both in the South, with this variety, that the one states it to lie on the banks of the *Gódávari*, and the other, that it was not very far from the city *Pramadárópyam*. The Crow, or Raven, *Laghupatanaka*, opens the business in all the copies. The fowler is very minutely described in the *Pancha Tantra*, as an inhabitant of the city, living by bird-catching, of an uncouth figure, with splay feet, and clumsy hands; round as a ball; sturdy, though advanced in years; clad in red garments, with his hair bound into a knot on his head, carrying a net and staff, and followed by dogs: in short, he looked like Destiny with the fatal noose;

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* The form familiar to us is the story of the Gardener, the Bear, and the Fly, in which it occurs in the *Anvara Soheili*, and *Ayar Danish*.

† In Mr. Sotheby's copy, only twenty-six.—H.T.C.

‡ It is also read *Samprápti*, which has the same import.

like the personification of Sin; like the heart of iniquity; like the monitor of the wicked; like the friend of Death." This description is reduced to "like fate," in the *Hitópadésa;* and in the Arabic, to "ill looks, and the net and the staff."

The *Hitópadésa* is singular in the story told by *Chitragriva,* of "The Traveller and the Tiger," to dissuade the Pigeons from descending on the grain. The *Pancha Tantra,* again, is alone in the story, told by the same, to recommend unanimity, of "the *Varúnda,*" a bird with two necks, one of refusing to part with a share of nectar, the other swallowed poison, and the bird died.

The other circumstances of this story are continued, alike in all, to the formation of the friendship between the Rat, and the Crow; but the discussion is much more protracted, and contains much more matter, peculiarly Hindú, in the *Pancha Tantra,* than in either of the other works. The Rat replies to the Crow's protestations, "I have no faith in your oaths; as it is said, 'Put no faith in a foe, who even has vowed friendship to you: VRĬTRA was killed by INDRA, in spite of his reiterated oaths.'* Again, 'An enemy of the Gods is not to be destroyed until he places trust in them. The embryo of DITI was destroyed by INDRA, only when she ceased to fear him.'"

In another passage we have allusions to some traditions, which are but little known.—

"He that observes, 'I might say, I abound with amiable qualities, and no one can be inclined to do me harm,' speaks that which is ridiculous. It is related that the valuable life of PÁN'INI (the grammarian) was destroyed by a lion; and an elephant demolished the sage JAIMINI, though he composed the *Mímánsá;* an alligator killed the harmonious PINGALA (the first writer on Prosody), on the sea-shore. Of what estimation is genius, with irrational and ferocious brutes."

Although the arguments, on either side, are continued for several pages, they are not intermixed with any narrative illustration in the *Pancha Tantra,* or *Kalila-Damana.* On the contrary, the *Hitópadésa* inserts here

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* The story is narrated in several of the *Purán'as,* and is alluded to in the *Rig-Veda.* As. Res. vol. viii, p. 387.

the stories of the Antelope and the Jackall; and the Crow, the Cat, and the Vulture. Afterwards, the several works proceed in a similar manner, to the visit of the Rat and the Crow, to *Mant'hara*, the Tortoise; to whom, and the Crow, *Hiranyaka*, the Rat, related his adventures.

The commencement of this story is the same in all, but the Arabic version here is singularly close. The *Hitópadéśa* alone inserts the story of the young wife, who took her husband by the hair, and embraced him, to favour the retreat of her lover; a story well known in Europe, from its version by Marguerite of Navarre, in her "Stratagème d'une femme qui fit évader son galant, lorsque son mari, qui étoit borgne, croyoit le surprendre avec elle," and she borrowed it from the first story of the Mauvaise Femme. It was made a similar use of by the Sieur D'Orville, Malespini, Bandello, and other *raconteurs*. In place of this, the original, and the *Kalila Damana* have the story of the woman, who exchanged picked for unpicked *sesamum* seeds, including that of the "Forester, Wild Boar, and Jackall," which occurs a little farther on, in the *Hitópadéśa*. A long train of adventures, told of a merchant's son, follows this, in the *Pancha Tantra*, only to shew that a man must obtain the wealth that is designed for him by fate. The close of this story is followed by one, narrated by *Mant'hara*, of So'MILLAKA, a weaver, who is taught by some Spirits, that wealth is to be enjoyed, not hoarded; and this includes a story of the "Bull and the Jackalls," to inculcate the folly of absurd expectations. These two last stories have, however, but little merit, and do not occur in the Arabic, any more than in the *Hitópadéśa*. The latter story, with some variations, has given rise to an idiomatic compound in the Bengali language; and *Bokáńdapratyása*, indulgence in unreasonable expectation, comprises the pith of this story; the *Boka*, or *Vaka*, a crane, being substituted for the Jackall of the original. A verse of interesting resemblance follows the stories. *Mant'hara* says to the Rat, "Dismiss all anxiety regarding your lost wealth, as it is said, 'He, to whom the Swan owes her white feathers, the Parrot his green hue, and the Peacock his variegated plumage, He will provide me sustenance.'"

The addition of the Antelope to the friendly society, occurs here, in the same manner, in all. The story of "the Elephant, liberated from his bonds by the Rat, of which we have a familiar version in the apologue of the Rat and the Lion, next occurs in the *Pancha Tantra*. In its place, in the

Hitópadésa, we have the double story of the Prince, the Banker's Son, and his Wife, and of the Elephant and Jackall. There is none in the *Kalila Damana.* The three works conclude with the same incident, the liberation of the Antelope from the hunter's snare, by the united efforts and devices of the Tortoise, the Crow, and the Rat.

This *Tantra* contains, in the original, eight stories. It is more amply illustrated in the *Hitópadésa,* than in either of the other two works.

SECTION THIRD.

INVETERATE ENMITY, OR WAR BETWEEN CROWS AND OWLS.

The third section of the *Pancha Tantra,* corresponds with the eighth chapter of the *Kalila Damana;* and the third chapter of the *Hitópadésa.* In the last work, however, the belligerent powers are the peacocks and the geese. The choice of the *Pancha Tantra* is the genuine one, no doubt; not only from the character of the work itself, but its connection with a particular grammatical rule. The *Sútras* of Pán'ini afford a precept for the use of a particular affix, to form derivatives from compound terms, when enmity is implied;* and this rule is exemplified by the form *Kákólúkika,* in which *káka,* a crow, and *ulúka,* an owl, are compounded, to signify the natural antipathy that subsists between these birds. Now as language precedes grammar, this rule was invented to explain the purport of a word already in use; and as in all probability, this word expressed a popular notion of great antiquity, its established currency influenced the author of the fables to select the owl and the crow, for the purpose of his narrative. We can scarcely suppose, that it was an accidental choice, which afterwards gave rise to the popular expression, and the introduction of the compound term; and which, consequently, would make the *Pancha Tantra* take precedence in date of the *Sútras* of Pán'ini. I may also add, that the substantive term *Kákólúkika,* which Pán'ini's affix (*Bun*) could form, appears very rarely, if ever, in the *Pancha Tantra.* The form used by the author of that work is more usually the attributive, *Kákólúkíya,* which is formed by a different affix (*Ch'ha*).

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* *Pán.* 4. 3. 125.

The introductory matter of this section, descriptive of the quarrel between the Crows and Owls, and the consultations of the monarch of the former, with his five ministers, correspond very closely in the *Pancha Tantra* and *Kalila Damana;* although they extend to a greater length in the former, and contain some matters curious in themselves, and reflecting light on several Hindú peculiarities: amongst these, the following enumeration of the officers of state, who are, or are not, to be relied upon with confidence, is quoted from the *Mahábhárat*, the *Sabhá Parva*, in which NÁREDA, it is said, communicated their names to YUD'HISHT'HÍRA. The full detail is, however, not given in that work, but the passage does occur, and the reference indicates, at any rate, the existence of the *Mahábhárat*, prior to the date of the *Pancha Tantra.**

The Officers to be distrusted, are eighteen.

1 Mantrí	The minister.
2 Puróhita	The royal chaplain, or priest.
3 Sénápati	The general.
4 Yuvarája	The young prince, associated in the empire, and designated as successor.
5 Dwárika	Warden, or chamberlain.
6 Antarva'nsika	The superintendant of the inner apartments.
7 Sannidhátryupadíshthá	A sort of master of the ceremonies.
8 Juyápaka	A master of requests.
9 As'wád'hyaksha	Master of the horse.
10 Gajád'hyaksha	Master of the elephants.
11 Kóshád'hyaksha	Superintendant of the treasury.
12 Balád'hyaksha	Ditto of the forces, or perhaps the stores.
13 Durgapála	The governor of the fort.
14 Karapála	The ruler of the prisons.
15 Símápála	The superintendant of the boundaries, or lord of the marches.
16 P'arishada	A companion.
17 Prótkalta bhritya	A courtier.
18 Atavikádhya	The forest chiefs, and others.

The fifteen, naturally attached to the monarch's cause, are

1 Janani	The queen mother.
2 Déví	The queen.
3 Kanchukí	The confidential attendant.
4 Máliká	The chaplet weaver, or florist.
5 Sayyapála	The bed-maker.

* A similar list occurs in the *Bháráví Tantra.*

6 Sayyád'hyáksha	The superintendant of the beds.
7 Sámvatsarika	The astrologer, or time-keeper.
8 Bhishak	Physician.
9 Jalaváhaka	The cup, or water-bearer.
10 Támbúlaváhaka	The betel-bearer.
11 Ácharya	The preceptor.
12 Anga-rakshaka	The captain of the body guard.
13 Sthána-chintaka	Quartermaster.
14 Ch'hatrádhára	The umbrella-bearer.
15 Vilásiní	Female attendant and singer, &c.*

Besides these, spies were a very efficient part of the ancient Hindú regime. We have no particular enumeration of these, except its being observed, that for what is going on amongst his own party, the king's best spies are the physician, the astrologer, and the preceptor; and that men, who exhibit snakes and the like, are the best to observe the designs of the enemy.

We have then the cause of the enmity between these feathered tribes, referred to the successful interference of a crow, in preventing the owl being chosen king of the birds, narrated in a similar manner in the *Pancha Tantra*, and the Arabic copy; it is omitted in the *Hitópadésa*. That work, however, inserts two stories, those of the Birds and the Monkeys, and the Ass in a Tiger's skin, (the latter an apologue of very wide circulation); before the story, common to all three, of the Elephant and Hares, and the Reflection of the Moon.

The story of the Hare, the Sparrow, and the Cat, does not occur in the *Hitópadésa*, although much of the description of the hypocritical piety of the Cat is copied in the story of the Vulture and the Cat, in the first section of that work. Some of the comments, however, are spared. It may be observed, indeed, that a much more decisive vein of satire, levelled particularly at Princes and Devotees, runs through the *Pancha Tantra*, than either the *Kalila Damana*, or *Hitópadésa:* thus the Hare observes, when he sees the Cat away, as it is said, "Trust not in low persons, who exercise austerities, for their own nefarious designs. Penitents are to be found at holy shrines, whose only virtue is in their vaunts."

The story of the Three Rogues, who persuade the *Bráhman* that his

* It is by no means certain, that all these names are rightly interpreted, or even rightly extracted from the text; but the greater part do not admit of doubt.

goat is something else, and so induce him to leave it to them, is the next in the *Pancha Tantra*, and *Kalila Damana*: it occurs in the last section of the *Hitópadésa*.

An incident, rather than a story, next occurs in the *Pancha Tantra*, singly; that of a Snake killed by Ants. The device adopted by the king of the Crows, as narrated in the *Pancha Tantra*, and *Kalila Damana*, reminds the reader of the story of Zopyrus; the councillor *Chiranjiva* being, at his own suggestion, stripped of his feathers, and smeared with blood, and left at the foot of the tree, in which state he is found by the Owls, and brought to their king. The discussions regarding his treatment, between the king and his ministers, are to the same purport in both works; but they are more detailed in the *Pancha Tantra*, and illustrated by very different stories.

The first minister, *Ractáksha*, who recommends the crow's being put to death, narrates, in order to shew that no confidence is to be placed in a reconciled foe, the story of the Snake and the *Bráhman's* Son, comprising a brief apologue of the Swans and the strange bird. Neither of these is in the Arabic, or *Hitópadésa;* and they may be therefore translated:

"In a certain country dwelt a *Bráhman*, who reaped no benefit from the cultivation of his grounds. As he was reposing one day in the hot season, under the shade of a tree, he dreamt that he beheld a large hooded snake, coiled upon an ant-hill, at a little distance; and waking from his dream, he concluded that the snake must be the tutelary deity of the spot, who was little pleased with him, as one from whom he had never received any veneration. The *Bráhman* determined, therefore, to worship him; and boiling some milk, he placed it in a vessel, and carried it to the ant-hill, exclaiming as he laid the cup upon the ground, 'Lord of the soil, I have hitherto been ignorant of thy place of residence, and, therefore, only have foreborne thy worship; forgive my negligence, and accept my oblation. So saying, he left the milk and went home.'

"When he visited the ant-hill on the morning following, he found in place of the milk, a *Dínár*,* and this was repeated daily. At last, the *Bráhman* hav-

* A gold coin. That there existed some connexion between this and the gold Denarius of the Romans, is not improbable, as has been shewn in another place. As. Res. XV. The indication of treasure by the presence of a snake, is a common superstition among the Hindús.

ing occasion to go to the village, appointed his son to present the oblation of milk in his absence. When the lad, upon the ensuing morning, found the *Dínár* as usual, it occurred to him, that the mound must be filled with coin; and that it would be the most eligible plan to kill its serpent-owner, and seize at once upon the whole treasure. Arming himself, therefore, with a stick, he lay wait for the snake, as he was lapping the milk, and struck him on the head. The blow failed to kill the snake, and the animal, inflamed with wrath, bit the lad with his poisonous fangs, so that he immediately died. The body was burnt by his people, who were at hand, and saw what had chanced. The father returned on the day following, and when he had heard the cause of his son's death, was satisfied that the event was not unmerited; declaring, that the vital elements will be ever snatched from those, who shew no tenderness to those living creatures, that repair to them for preservation, as happened to the Swans and their Lake. The persons present asked him to explain this allusion, and he thus replied:

"'In a certain country reigned Chitrarat'ha, in one of whose gardens was an extensive lake, guarded by his troops. In this lake were golden swans, who moulted a feather once in every six months. A large bird, having joined them, was refused admission to their troop; they claiming the exclusive occupation of the pool, by the fee of the moulted feather. After much discussion, the stranger bird applied to the king, and said, Sire, these swans have had the audacity to say, what have we to do with the king? we will not allow any one to reside here: and it was to no purpose that I expostulated with them on the impropriety of such language, and threatened to bring it to your knowledge. The king, having heard this, commanded his servants to go and kill the birds, and bring them to him; and they set off with this intent. When they approached the pool, an old swan, suspecting their purpose, persuaded the rest to fly away; and thus, although they preserved their lives, they lost the residence, which they refused to share with a guest.'

"Having related this tale, the *Bráhman* proceeded to worship the snake. The serpent, however, could not be tempted forth, but shewing himself at the entrance of his hole, he thus spoke: 'Avarice brings thee hither, and banishes all sorrow for thy son's fate, but there cannot be any cordiality between thee and me:' again, 'the insane presumption of youth, your son struck me; I have bitten him, and killed him: how is it possible for me ever to forget his violence? how is it possible that you should ever forget his death? Take this jewel, therefore; depart, and never more approach this

place.' Having thus spoken, and cast a gem of inestimable value to the *Bráhman*, he withdrew into his hole. The *Bráhman* took the jewel, but, considering its value much inferior to what he might have acquired by long assiduous homage, never ceased to lament the folly of his son."

The next story is also peculiar to the *Pancha Tantra*, and indeed, so decidedly of a Hindú character, that we need not be surprised at its omission, from the Arabic translation at least. It may be called the Fowler and the Pigeons. The fowler, having caught the female dove, is overtaken by a violent storm, and repairs for shelter to the tree inhabited by the male. Moved by the councils of his captive mate, and his own estimate of the rites of hospitality, he not only gives the fowler shelter in the hollow trunk, but collects dry leaves, and makes him a fire, and casts himself into the flames, to furnish his guest a meal. The bird-catcher liberates the dove, and she also throws herself into the fire; on which she and her lord assume celestial forms, and are conveyed to heaven in divine cars, agreeably to the text, that says, 'A widow, who burns herself, secures for herself and her husband enjoyment in Paradise, for as many years as there are hairs on the human body, or thirty-five millions.'* The fowler becomes an ascetic, and voluntarily perishes in a burning forest.

The next story of the Husband, and his Wife, and the Thief, is translated in the Arabic, but does not occur in the *Hitópadésa*. It has been imitated by the writers of Europe. The *Bráhman*, the Thief, and the *Rákshasa*, the next story, is the same with "the Ascetic, the Thief, and the Evil Genius of the *Kalila Damana*.

The next story, of the Prince who had a snake in his bowels, is peculiar to the *Pancha Tantra*. He is cured by his wife. The eleventh fable is the same with the Husband under the Bed, of the Arabic, which occurs also in the third section of the *Hitópadésa*. The next story, again, is the same in the *Pancha Tantra*, and *Kalila Damana*, that of the Mouse turned to a young girl by a sage, and finally to a mouse again. The Arabic translator, by his alterations, has lost the point of the

* This text is attributed to *Angiras*, and forms part of the declaration or *Sankapa*, pronounced by the widow at the time of her ascending the pile.—As. Res. vol. iv, p. 210.

story. He makes the sun, &c. decline the marriage; but, in the Sanscrit, the lady makes objections to all the proposed bridegrooms, till she sees the rat, when her natural propensities induce her to solicit her adoptive father to give her to him in marriage.

The next story of "the Bird that voided gold with its dung," is peculiar to the *Pancha Tantra;* so is that of "the Fox, who detects the presence of a Lion in a cavern:" neither tale has much point. The story of "the Snake and Frogs," is told in all three works; but in the *Pancha Tantra,* it is interrupted by the following: *viz.*

"The *Bráhman* and his Wife.

"There was a *Bráhman,* named *Mandávisha,* whose wife was a woman of loose character. She had a lover, to whom she was accustomed to carry delicacies and cates, which she prepared herself. Her husband, at last taking notice of this, inquired of her whither she took them, and to whom: she replied, I carry them as oblations to my tutelary goddess Dévi, whose temple, you know, is close at hand. Pretending to be satisfied with this reply, the husband allowed her to proceed, but continued to watch her. As she found that he observed her, she went to the temple, and performed the customary oblations, and entered the building. Her husband immediately set off by another path; and getting into the edifice by a different entrance, concealed himself behind the statue of the goddess. The wife, being afraid that her husband was still on the watch, determined to go through with the ceremony in earnest, and having presented the oblations, she thus prayed, "O! goddess, deign to inform me by what means my husband can be deprived of his eyesight." The husband, hearing this, disguised his voice, and answered, "Feed him daily with such cates as you have brought hither, and he will soon become blind." The wife returned home delighted, and put in practice the supposed instructions of the goddess. In a few days the *Bráhman* began to complain of dimness of vision, and shortly afterwards pretended to lose his sight. The wife, attributing this to the favour of the goddess, entertained no doubt of the fact; and in the confidence of not being detected, invited her gallant to come fearlessly to the house. The husband, however, now thoroughly apprised of the truth, lost no time in punishing her misconduct. Surprising the guilty pair, he beat the adulterer with his staff, till he expired; and, cutting off his wife's nose, he turned her away."

The remainder of this section, and the destruction of the Owls, by their more crafty enemies, corresponds in the *Pancha Tantra*, and *Kalila Damana*.

The third section comprises seventeen stories.

SECTION FOURTH.

LOSS OF THAT WHICH HAS BEEN GAINED.

The fourth section of the *Pancha Tantra*, illustrative of the folly of losing what has once been acquired (*Labdha-praśamana**) corresponds with the ninth chapter of the *Kalila Damana*, which relates the story of "The Monkey and the Tortoise." The Arabic, or Pehlevi translator has, however, made rather short work with his original, and has turned the twelve tales of the latter into two.

The chief performers in this selection, and the circumstances, out of which the tales arise, are the same; only, instead of a Tortoise, the treacherous friend of the Monkey, is the *Makara*, a fabulous aquatic animal, which corresponds, in representation at least, with the Capricornus of the Greek Zodiac. The first story, narrated by the Monkey after his escape, is that of "The Snake and the Frogs." The former is introduced into his well, by the King of the latter, to revenge him on his rebellious subjects. This being done, however, he devours the king's subjects, and finally, the king himself. The moral is, "that hunger will be appeased, even in spite of crime."

The next story is the only one of the section, found in the Arabic, that of "The sick Lion, the Jackall, and the Ass."

The next story is that of "a Potter, who, having cut his forehead against some broken pots, is encountered, bleeding, by a Prince, and taken for a valiant warrior by him, in consequence of which, he is enrolled amongst his guards. When the mistake is discovered, the prince orders him to withdraw: and when the potter requests that he may be allowed to stay,

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* It is also read *Labdha Pran'as'ana*, and *Labdha Pran'ás'a*, but the sense is the same.

repeats to him the next story, that of "the two young Lions, and the young Jackall, brought up with them, but who betrays his origin by his cowardice, and is advised by the old Lioness, his adoptive mother, to withdraw quietly, lest his foster brothers find him out and destroy him." The potter takes the hint, and walks quietly off.

The ensuing stories tend to the disparagement of the fair sex. The first is that of a *Bráhman*, who quits his home and family, and relinquishes half his life, for the sake of a spouse, who, notwithstanding, deserts him for a lame beggar, and attempts his life: a story that is told also in the *Daśa Kumára*. The next is to shew that there is no pleasing women, without complying with all their caprices; as the minister VARARUCHI, to conciliate his wife, submitted to have his head shaved; and his royal master, NANDA, to gratify his queen, allowed her to put a bridle in his mouth, and mounting on his back, compel him to carry her about, neighing at the same time, like a horse.

The next story in this section, is an apologue of very familiar character. "A washerman, the owner of an ass, dresses him up with the skin of a tiger, to frighten away intruders from his field: after a time, the ass betrays himself by his braying, and gains a beating from the villagers." This is given in the *Hitópadéśa*, in the third section.

The ninth tale is of a villager's wife, who is tempted to run away from her husband, and carry off his wealth. When she arrives, with her gallant, at a river, he persuades her to entrust him with the property, and her clothes, to convey them across; after which he is to return for her. This, however, he omits to do, and she is deserted. In this state she sees a Jackall approach with a piece of meat in its mouth. The Jackall, seeing a fish on the edge of the water, lays down the meat, to make the fish his prey: the fish escapes; and, in the mean time, a vulture carries off the meat. The deserted wife laughs at the incident, when the Jackall thus applies it to herself: "Your wisdom is double that of mine; for here you are, naked in the water, and have neither a husband nor a gallant."

The story of "the Sparrows and Monkey," is the same as that of "the Birds and Monkeys," in the beginning of the third section of the *Hitópadéśa*.

The two next stories, which complete this section, are those of "the Jackall, who by his craft preserved the carcase of a dead Elephant from a Lion and a Tiger, and by his courage from another Jackall;" and "the Dog who

in a famine, left his own town for another, but was driven back by the dogs of the strange place, and was glad to seek his own home again."

The *Makara* now retires, having previously been told of his wife's death, and the invasion of his abode by an enemy: circumstances, omitted in the Arabic translation, as well as the stories to which they give rise.

There are twelve stories in this section.

SECTION FIFTH.

INCONSIDERATENESS.*

The fifth *Tantra* corresponds in purport with the tenth chapter of the *Kalila Damana*, the Ascetic and the Weasel being intended to illustrate the folly of precipitancy. The Pehlevi, or Arabic translator, has, however, taken a similar liberty with his original, as in the preceding section, and has reduced again twelve stories to two. The tales in the original, therefore, are mostly novel, and not very prolix. It may be observed, by the way, that in the last two *Tantras* of the work, either the original compiler had exhausted his store, or less frequent additions have been made by subsequent hands; as the reflections and citations, which are most disproportionably interspersed in the three first sections, become now much less copious: an obvious improvement in the interest, if not in the utility, of the collection.

Vishńu Sarmá now remarked, "a man should never attempt a business which he has imperfectly seen or understood, transacted or investigated, or he will meet with such mischance as befel the imprudent Barber." The princes asking him, to what he alluded, he thus proceeded:

"In the south there is a city named *Pátalipur*, in which Mańibhadra, a banker, resided. Although attentive to his moral and religious duties, it was the will of fate, that he should lose his wealth, and be reduced to poverty. The insignificance, into which he consequently fell, preyed upon his spirits, and he indulged in such reflections as these:

"It is justly said, that amiable feelings, purity of manners, moderation,

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* *Aparíkshita káritwa*, inconsiderate conduct; acting without previous investigation.

ability, suavity, and respectability, are qualities that shine with little lustre in the person of a poor man. Dignity, pride, discernment, conceit, or intellect are all lost, when a man is poor; as the freshness of the dewy season is dissipated by the breeze of spring. The most brilliant talents will be of little benefit to their possessor, whose thoughts are all occupied in devising means for the support of his family, and when, for the exercise of lofty fancies, are substituted clothes, rice, oil, salt and ghee. Men without wealth are of no note amongst their fellows. They perish, as they are born, unheeded, like bubbles on the stream."

"Impelled by these considerations, he determined to abstain from food, and so terminate his life. For what, he exclaimed, is the use of a miserable existence? With this resolve, he fell asleep. In his sleep the *Padma-nidhi** appeared to him under the form of an old *Jaina* mendicant, and forbade him to despair. You have been, he said, a faithful worshipper of me, and I will not desert you. In the morning early, you shall see me again, as I now appear: do you then take a staff, and strike me on the head; on which I shall be changed immediately to a pile of gold. He then disappeared.

"When the merchant rose, in the morning, he recollected his vision, but could scarcely persuade himself, that it would so come to pass. He referred it to the subject of his previous thoughts; as it is said: To those who are in sickness, or in sorrow, whose minds are occupied with anxiety or desire, the object of their waking wishes is presented in their dreams.

"At this time, the barber, who had been sent for by the merchant's wife, to pare her nails, arrived, and whilst he was busy at his work, the seeming

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* The *Nidhi* is properly a treasure; and is especially a kind of wealth appertaining to Kuvéra, the God of Riches. The *nidhis*, or their superintendants at least, are personifications; and are, as such, worshipped (See *Mégha Duta*, in a note). The worship is of the *Tántrika* description. The *Sáradá Tilaka*, a celebrated authority of that school, contains the following directions for adoring the *Sánkha* and *Padma-nidhis*, in conjunction with Lakshmí, the Goddess of Prosperity. "1. Let the votary worship the *Sánkha-nidhi*, and his spouse upon the right hand of the Goddess: him corpulent; and her full breasted: both adorned with pearls and rubies, both exhibiting gentle smiles upon their lotus-like countenances, locked in each others arms, and each holding a lotus and a shell, both scattering showers of pearls, and each bearing a conch upon the forehead. 2. Let him adore the *Padma nidhi*, placed with his wife upon the left hand of the Goddess: both of the colour of minium, each in the other's embrace, and either holding a red lotus and a blue one: both employed in raining jewels, and either wearing a lotus as a crest: the male *Padma nidhi* corpulent, the female slender."

mendicant appeared. MAŃIBHADRA immediately recognized the figure of his dream, and snatching up a stick, struck him on the head; on which the figure changed to gold, and fell upon the floor. The banker took the gold to an inner apartment, desiring the barber not to mention to any one what he had witnessed. The barber promised secrecy, and went home, but could not help thinking of the occurrence. These naked mendicants, he muttered to himself, are all of one fraternity, and if one is changed into gold by a rap on the pate, why should not any other be changed in a similar manner? I will therefore invite their principals to my house, and then with a few strokes of a cudgel, I shall surely get a quantity of the finest metal. These ideas he revolved in his mind the rest of that day, and all the night. When morning came, he went to the *Vihár*,* and facing to the north, perambulated the *Jina*† three times. He then went on his knees, and holding up his hands with reverence, lifted up the edge of the curtain, repeating in a high tone this stanza, "Glory to those *Jainas* who possess the only true knowledge; and are thus enabled to traverse the wild ocean of human passions." And again, "The tongue which glorifies, and the mind that is dedicated to *Jina*, are alone to be praised, with the hands that are busied in his adoration." Having uttered these, and similar invocations, he repaired to the chief of the convent, and kneeling at his feet, received his blessing. The barber then, in an insinuating tone, requested the favour of his coming, with his principal sages, to a slight recreation at his house. The principal replied, "How now, son; what is it you say? Are we *Bráhmans*, think you, to be at any one's beck and call? No, no; at the hour when we go forth to gather alms, we enter the mansions of those votaries only, who, we know, are of approved faith. Depart, therefore, nor reiterate thine offence." The Barber replied, "most venerable Lord, I shall obey, and do as you command, but I beg to mention, that I have a store of excellent cloths, for covers to our holy books; and of the materials for writing, which will be fitly disposed of, when time may serve." So saying he went home, and provided some stout bludgeons, which he hid in a corner; he then went back to the convent, and took his station at the gate; and, as the different ascetics came forth, he addressed them as he had spoken to their principal. Tempted by the wrappers for their books, they all listened to him favour-

* The name of a *Bauddha* or *Jaina* convent.

† The deified sage who is the object of *Jaina* worship.

ably, and deserting their old acquaintances, followed the barber to his house; as it is said: The naked ascetic, who has abandoned his home, and all his possessions, is still no stranger to the desire of worldly goods. When the Barber had introduced them into his house, he took up his staff, and struck them on the head, so that several were killed in an instant. The rest, with broken skulls, set up so loud a clamour, that the neighbourhood was alarmed, and the town guards* flocked towards the spot, to see what was the matter. As they approached, they met the *Jaina* mendicants, fleeing with broken heads, and covered with blood, from the barber's house. Having learnt the cause of their dismay, they proceeded to lay hold of the barber, whom they bound and carried to the police. When questioned as to his conduct, he justified himself by the example of MAŃIBHADRA, but when MAŃIBHADRA, being sent for, and examined, revealed the exact nature of the occurrence, he was of course dismissed, whilst the barber was hanged, as a punishment for his violent and inconsiderate aggression.

"When the barber was disposed of, the judges remarked, that he had deserved his fate, as it is well said, that which has not been tried, should not be attempted, and that which is done, ought first to be well considered, otherwise repentance will follow, as in the case of the *Bráhman* and Ichneumon. MAŃIBHADRA asked how that was, and they replied.

"There was a *Bráhman*, named DÉVA SARMÁ, whose wife had one son; she had also a favourite ichneumon,† that she brought up with the infant, and cherished like another child. At the same time, she was afraid that the animal would, some time or other, do the child a mischief, knowing its treacherous nature, as it is said, "A son, though ill-tempered, ugly, stupid and wicked, is still the source of delight to a father's heart." One day the mother going forth to fetch water, placed the child in the bed, and desired her husband to guard the infant, especially from the ichneumon. She then departed, and after a while, the *Bráhman* himself was obliged to go forth to collect alms. When the house was thus deserted, a black snake came out of a hole, and crawled towards the bed where the infant lay; the ichneumon, who saw him, impelled by his natural animosity, and by regard for his foster

* The *Pura kóshtapála purusháh:* The men who guarded the avenues of the city. Possibly there may be some etymological connexion between *Kóshtapála* (Sanscrit), and *Kotwál* (Persian), an officer of police.

† Nacula: Viverra mungo, C.

brother, instantly attacked him, and, after a furious encounter, tore him to pieces. Pleased with his prowess, and the service he had rendered, he ran to meet his mistress on her return home, his jaws and face besmeared with blood. As soon as the *Bráhman's* wife beheld him, she was convinced that he had killed her child, and in her rage and agitation, she threw the water jar at the ichneumon with all her force, and killed him on the spot. She then rushed into the house, where she found the child still asleep, and the body of a venomous snake torn in pieces at the foot of the bed. She then perceived the error she had committed, and beat her breast and face with grief, for the unmerited fate of her faithful little favourite. In this state her husband found her on his return. When he had told her the cause of his absenting himself, she reproached him bitterly for that greedy desire of profit, which had caused all the mischief, forgetting, she said, the saying, " Excessive cupidity is to be avoided, although all desire of profit be not relinquished. The wheel whirls round his head, who evinced inordinate avarice." The husband asked her how that happened, and she replied:

" There dwelt in a certain town four *Bráhmans*, all intimate friends, and equally poor. They consulted together what was to be done; for poverty, they agreed, was intolerable. Patrons, however well attended, are dissatisfied; friends and sons desert the poor; merit is of no avail, and misfortunes multiply. Wives of the best family abandon their husbands; friends transfer their attachment to more powerful individuals. Again, let a man be brave, handsome, eloquent, and learned, without wealth, he obtains not any enjoyment, and is as a dead man amongst the living. Better death, than poverty. Again, it is said, " Arise, my friend, for a moment, and remove the burden of indigence from my fate, that I may share with you the felicity which death affords. It is better, therefore, to go to the cemetery at once, and become a corpse, than live in poverty." The friends assented to this, and agreed, that every effort should be adopted to acquire wealth, as it is said, nothing is obtained by him who has not money. Let, therefore, the wise man attach himself to its acquirement. Wealth is acquirable by six means: begging, service, agriculture, science, usury, and trade: of which, trade is the best, as its profits are most independently realized; as it is observed: " The food obtained as alms may be carried off by crows; the favour of a prince or patron may be withdrawn; agriculture is laborious; and the respect to be paid to a preceptor in acquiring knowledge, is troublesome; usury brings poverty on other people; so that the

nly method eligible, is trade. Money is made in trade, in seven ways y defective weights and measures; by false statements of price; by th pse of deposits; by receiving the securities of friends; by managin states for others; by dealing in perfumes; and by exporting goods fo le. In the first case, it is pretended that the measure is full, when it is no n the second, selling a thing for more than its worth, is the natural practice ven of barbarians. While a deposit is in his house, the merchant prays t e gods that the owner may die, when he will make them suitable offering When a trader sees an acquaintance coming to borrow, he pretends t ment his misfortune, but is inwardly delighted. In the management o states is the reflection, I have got hold of lands full of treasure. Of al oods,* perfumes are the best: gold is not to be compared to the articl hich is procured for one, and is parted with for a thousand. Exportin ommodities is the proper business of persons already wealthy; as it is said Those who are wealthy are heard of from afar.' Riches are attracted b ches, as wild elephants are caught by tame ones. Capital is multiplie vice and thrice over, in repeatedly buying and selling, by those who hav nowledge, and travel to other lands. The idle and weak alone, are afrai f foreign countries. 'Crows, deer, and dastards, die in their nativ lace.'

Having thus reflected, the four friends determined to quit their home nd set off together on travel. The man, whose mind is intent on wealth eaves his friend and family, his mother and his natal soil, and roams t oreign and ungenial lands, without a moment's hesitation. After som ays, the *Bráhmans* arrived at *Avanti* (*Ujjayan*), where they bathed in th *ipra*, and worshipped *Mahákála*;† after which they proceeded, and me ith a *Yógí* named Bhairavánanda, with whom they formed an acquain nce, and who invited them to his abode. He inquired of them th urpose of their journey. They said, they were pilgrims in search o agic power, repairing to the shrine where wealth or death awaited them s it is said; 'The water that falls from Heaven, may sometimes flow i e realms below the earth. The force of fate is inconceivable, and ma

* See remarks at the close of this Essay.

† One of the twelve great *Lingas*, and well known to have been especially worshipped *jjayan*. This *Linga* was destroyed by *Altumák*, in 1231.

is weak against it. The objects of man may be apparently attained by mortal efficacy: but that is fate; for when you speak of human qualities, you give that name to destiny; at the same time, ease is not here the source of ease, nor can it be enjoyed without exertion. The destroyer of Madhu (Vishnu) seized Lakshmí forcibly, and held her clasped in a firm embrace. Tell us, therefore, they continued, if you are acquainted with any drug of virtue, to carry us into secret chasms, and tame the imps of evil; or efficacious in the rites of charnel grounds. You, they said, are an adept; we are but novices, but we are resolute. None but the illustrious can satisfy the wishes of the worthy. The ocean alone supports the subterrestrial flame.'

The *Yógí*, finding them apt scholars, admitted their request, and gave them four magical balls, one a-piece, directing them to go to the northern side of the *Himáchala* mountains, where each, on the spot where the balls should spontaneously fall, would find a treasure. They accordingly went thither; and one of the balls soon fell on the ground. The *Bráhman*, to whom it belonged, with the assistance of the rest, dug up the soil, and there discovered a copper mine. He desired the rest to take as much as they liked, but they refused, determining to seek their fortunes farther. He replied, Go on, then, I shall return; taking therefore as much of the metal as he could, he went back, and the rest proceeded.

The ball, belonging to another, soon fell, and he dug up the spot, which proved to contain a silver mine. Overjoyed, he exclaimed, "Let us go no farther, but take as much as we can, and then return." The other two, however, ridiculed his folly, and resolved to advance, hoping as they had at first met with copper, then silver, they should successively meet with metal still more valuable. So it proved, for the next ball that fell, indicated a vein of gold, with which the man to whom the ball belonged, entreated his companion to rest satisfied. The argument previously used, however, being justified by the discovery of gold, determined him to persevere, in the full confidence, that he should next come to a bed of diamonds. The discoverer of the gold mine declined accompanying him, and he went on alone; the other promising to await his return.

The last *Bráhman* proceeded through solitary paths, scorched by the rays of the sun, and faint with thirst, till at last he came to a place which was whirling round, and on it stood a man, whose body was covered with blood, and on whose head a wheel revolved. He approached, and asked him who

he was, and why the wheel was placed upon his head, and requested him also to shew him where any water was procurable; but he had scarcely spoken, when the wheel transferred itself from the crown of its late possessor to the head of the *Bráhman*. He exclaimed, How! what is this? and the stranger replied, You have taken the wheel from my head, and you must keep it, till some one like yourself shall come hither, with that magic ball in his hand, and shall address to you similar questions to those you have asked of me. The *Bráhman* inquired, how long a time he had passed in that plight. The stranger asked who was the present sovereign, to which the *Bráhman* answered, Víná-vatsa.* The man then said, When Ráma reigned, I came hither, impelled by my poverty, and guided by the magic ball, as thou hast been: I found a man here with the wheel on his head, and asking him such questions as thou hast put, the wheel was fixed upon my head. I have been here ever since. And how did you get any thing to eat? inquired the *Bráhman*. The other replied, This law was fixed by the God of wealth, who fears his treasure should be plundered. His fears are known to the *Siddhi Nágas*,† who send men hither: but when a mortal arrives, he loses the sensations of hunger and thirst, and is exempt from decay and death. He retains alone the consciousness of solitude and pain. But now excuse me, I am released, and shall return home. So saying, he departed.

The *Bráhman*, who had found the gold mine, wondered why his companion

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* Udayana or Vatsa, the King of *Kausambhí*, is probably intended here; he was celebrated for his skill on the *Vína*, or Lute. This prince is the hero of the first chapters of the *Vrihat-Kat'há*, which gives this account of his descent. He is the son of Sahasra'níka, the son of Sata'ni'ka, the son of Janaméjaya, the son of Parikshit, the son of Arjuna. The genealogy of Arjuna's descendants, which Dr. Buchanan Hamilton derives from the *B'hágavat*, has no prince of this name. The son of Sahas'ra'ni'ka is termed A'swame'd'haja. The two works are also at variance, regarding the founder of *Kausambhí*, the *Vrihat Kat'há* ascribing it to Saha'sra'ni'ka, which is, so far, apparently most correct, that various works concur in styling Valsa king of *Kausambhí*, whilst the *Bhágavat*, however, calls the founder of that city Chakra, the fourth prince from Sahas'ra'ni'ka. Hindu genealogies, Introduction 13, and table 9.

† The *Nágas* are the serpents, which inhabit the region under the earth. *Siddhi* means super-human power which may be obtained by their worship. Their being opposed to Kuve'ra, and desirous of encroaching on his wealth, although here stated in a popular form, is like many things in this work, no longer a familiar notion amongst the Hindus.

tarried so long, and becoming at last impatient, he set off in quest of him. Tracing his course by the impressions of his feet, he followed him to the spot, where he stood, and beheld him covered with blood, running down from his head, which was cut by the sharp edges of the wheel. To the inquiries of his friend, he replied, by telling him the property of the wheel; and what he had witnessed. On which the other reproached him, saying, Did I not tell you to stop? but your lack of sense could not allow you to take my advice. It is very justly observed, 'Better sense than science; unless it improve by knowledge.' Those who want common understanding will as surely perish, as did those who revived the Lion. The man with the wheel asked how that was, to which the other replied:

" There were four *Bráhmans* residing in the same village, all intimate friends. Three were men of great acquirements, but destitute of common sense. The fourth was an intelligent fellow, but equally destitute of learning. As they were poor, they determined at one of their meetings, to go to some country where learning was patronized, and where, they were satisfied, they should speedily be enriched with presents from the king. They accordingly set off, but when they had gone some way, the eldest cried out, 'It never occurred to me before, that our fourth friend here is illiterate. He is a man of sense to be sure, but that will not entitle him to any rewards from the king; we shall have, therefore, to relinquish to him a part of our earnings, and it would be fairer, I think, for him to remain at home.' The second agreed in this opinion, but the third opposed it, saying, 'we have always been friends and companions from infancy, and let him, therefore, participate in the wealth we shall acquire.' This sentiment prevailed, and they all went on in harmony.

" As they passed through a forest, they saw the scattered bones of a dead Lion. 'I have met,' said one, 'with an account of a method by which beings can be re-animated: what say you? shall we try the experiment, and employ the energies of science to restore life and shape to these bones?' They agreed. One undertook to put the bones together; the second to supply the skin, flesh, blood, &c., and the other to communicate life to the figure. When the two first had accomplished their tasks, the third was about to begin his; but the fourth stopped him; 'Consider what you are going to do,' he exclaimed, 'if you give life to the lion, the consequence will be that he will devour us.' 'Away, blockhead,' replied the sage, 'I am not to project things in vain.' 'Wait an instant, then,' replied the

man of sense, 'till I get up into this tree.' So saying, he climbed up into a tree at hand, and his learned associates accomplished their undertaking. A substantial living lion was formed, who fell upon the three philosophers, and destroyed them. When he was gone, the man of common sense descended from his hiding place, and reached home again in safety."

When he had finished, the man with the wheel exclaimed: "This is very unreasonable, that destiny should destroy men of great talents, and allow simpletons to escape; as it is said, 'See where *Satabudd'hi* (hundred-wit) is carried on the head, and there too is *Sahaśrábudd'hi* (thousand-wit), whilst I, who am *Eka-buddhi* (single-wit), still may gambol in the crystal stream.' 'How,' asked he of the gold mine, 'happened that?' The *Chakrad'hara* * replied, 'In a certain reservoir were two fishes, one named *Satabudd'hi*, the other *Sahaśrabudd'hi*. They had a friend, a frog, named *E'kabudd'hi*, with whom they were in the habit of meeting and conversing at the edge of the water. When the usual party assembled, they saw several fishermen with their nets approach, and heard them say to one another, 'this pool is full of fish, the water is but shallow, we will come to-morrow morning and drag it.' They then went away. When they had departed, the frog said to his friends, 'What is to be done? had we not better make our escape?' at which *Sahaśrabudd'hi* laughed, and said, 'never fear, they have only talked of coming. Yet, if they should come, I will be answerable for your safety, as well as my own. I shall be a match for them, as I know all the courses of the water.' *Satabudd'hi* said, 'My friend here is very right; wherever there is a way for the breeze, for water or its tenants, or for the rays of the sun, the intellect of a sagacious person will penetrate. By following his counsel, your life would be in no peril, even had you approached the abodes of the manes. Stay where you are, even I will undertake your safety.' The frog said, 'I have, perhaps, but limited talent, a mere singleness of sense, but that tells me to flee; and therefore, whilst I can, I shall withdraw with my mate to another piece of water.' The frog left the pool that night. In the morning the fishermen arrived, and the lake was so beset with nets, that all the fish, turtles, crabs, and other tenants of the water were made prisoners, and amongst them *Satabudd'hi* and *Sahaśrabudd'hi*, in spite of their boasted cunning,

* From *Chakra*, a wheel, and *Dhara*, who bears; the use of this denominative may spare some repetition.

were caught and killed. The frog saw the fishermen on their return, and recognising *Satabudd'hi* on the head of one man, and *Sahaśrabudd'hi* dragged along with cords by another, pointed them out to his mate, in the words which I cited."

The *Bráhman* of the gold mine answered, This may be very true, but a friend's words are not to be despised, and you had better have listened to me, than followed the dictates of your own avarice and presumption. Well was it said, 'Bravo, uncle, you would sing your song, though I dissuaded you, and see what a splendid gem you have received as the recompense of your performance.' The *Chakradhara* asked, how was that? The other replied.

"In a certain village there was an Ass named Udd'háta. During the day, he carried the bundles of a washerman. At night, he followed his own inclinations. During his nocturnal rambles, he formed an acquaintance with a Jackall, in whose company he broke into enclosures, and feasted on their contents. On one occasion, when in the middle of a cucumber field, the Ass, exulting with delight, said to the Jackall, 'Nephew, is not this a heavenly night; I feel so happy that I must sing a song. In what key will you prefer it.' The Jackall replied, 'What nonsense, when we are engaged in plundering, to think of such a thing. Silence becomes thieves and libertines, as it is said, 'Let the sick man and the lazy refrain from stealing and chattering, if they would escape with life.' If your song be ever so sweet, should the owner of the field hear, he will rise, and in his rage, bind and kill you: eat, therefore, and be silent.' The Ass replied, 'You can be no judge of the charms of music, as you have spent all your life in the woods. Observe, in the nights of autumn, in privacy with your love, the distant song of the singer drops like nectar into the ears.' The Jackall answered, 'may be so, but your voice is abominable, why should you let it lead you into trouble?' The Ass was highly affronted at this, and said; 'away, blockhead, do you question my musical proficiency? I know every branch of the science; for instance, there are seven notes, three scales, and twenty-one intervals, &c.* The scientific combination of the parts of

* The entire enumeration in the text is 7 *swara*, 3 *gráma*, 21 *múrch'hana*, 19 *tála*, 3 *mátrá*, 3 *laya*, 3 *st'hána*, 6 *yatis*, 9 *rasa*, 36 *varna*, 40 *bháshá*, 150 *gítá*. See the author's remarks, at the close of this essay. Mr. Wilson reads *nara* for *rasa*, and three divisions of *yatis* in place of 6 *yatis*.—H.T.C.

music is particularly grateful in the autumnal season. There is no gift of the gods more precious than music. RÁVANA received the boon from the three eyed god (SIVA), delighted with the rattling of dry tendons. How then do you presume to question my powers, or to oppose their exercise?' 'Very well,' replied the Jackall, 'let me get to the door of the garden, where I may see the gardener as he approaches, and then sing away as long as you please.' So it was settled; and the Jackall having provided for his own safety, the Ass opened his chaunt. The gardener was awakened by the noise, and rising immediately, repaired to the spot, armed with a stout stick, with which he fell upon the ass, knocked him down, and belaboured him till he was tired. He then brought a large clog, with a hole in it, which he fastened to his leg, and tied him to a post, after which he returned home, and went to sleep. The Ass came to himself, and forgot his tortures in the recollection of his home and companions. As it is said, 'On a dog, a mule, and an ass, a good beating leaves but a momentary impression.' Accordingly, springing up, he forced his way out of the inclosure, carrying the clog along with him. As he ran off, the Jackall met him, and said, 'Bravo, uncle,' &c."

The *Chakradhara* having heard this story, answered, What you observe is very just; but you should recollect, that a man who neither exercises his own judgment, nor follows a friend's advice, brings on his own ruin, as was the case with MANT'HARA, the weaver.

"There was a weaver named, MANT'HARA, all the wood work of whose loom was, on one occasion, broken. Taking his axe, he set off to cut fresh timber, and finding a large *Sisú*-tree, by the sea side, began to fell it. In the tree resided a spirit, who exclaimed on the first stroke of the axe, 'Hola, this tree is my dwelling, and I cannot quit it, as here I inhale the fresh breeze that is cooled by the ocean's spray.' The weaver replied, 'What am I to do? unless I get wood, my family must starve. Do you, therefore, look out for another house; quick, this I must have.' The spirit replied, 'You shall have any thing else you ask for; but not this tree.' The weaver then agreed to go home, and consult a friend and his wife, and return with his final determination.

"When the weaver returned home, he found there a very particular friend of his, the barber of the village, to whom he told what had occurred, and whom he consulted what he should request. The barber said: 'Ask to be made a king; then I will be your prime minister, and we shall enjoy our-

selves gloriously.' The weaver approved his notion; but first, he added, he must consult his wife. To this, the barber strenuously objected. A wise man, he argued, would confer on women food, clothing, and appropriate ornaments, but would never let them share his councils, as BHÁRGAVA has stated, that where a woman, a rogue, or a child, had the management, the house was sure of going to ruin. A man would maintain his rank and respectability, as long as he associated with grave people, and entrusted no woman with his secrets. Women are engrossed with their own designs, and purpose only their own pleasure. They love their own children even, no longer than they derive from them self-gratification.' The weaver admitted the justice of his friend's observations; but *his* wife, he said, had no other thoughts, than for her husband's welfare, and he must take her advice. Accordingly he went to her, and related what had happened, what the barber had recommended, and asked her what she thought it would be most advantageous for him to solicit: she replied:

"'You should never listen, husband, to the advice of a barber; as it is said, 'Husbands should never take counsel with courtezans, parasites, 'mean persons, barbers, gardeners, and beggars. Royalty is a very troublesome thing, and the cares of peace and war, aggression and negotiation, defence and administration, never allow its possessor a moment's enjoyment. He, who is wise, will ever shun the station of a king, for which his own relations, brothers and offspring, would be armed against his life. I should recommend you, therefore, to be contented with your station, and only to seek the means of more effectually earning your livelihood. Ask for an additional pair of hands, and another head, with which you may keep a loom going, both before and behind you. The profit of such a second loom will be quite sufficient to give you consequence and credit with your tribe, as we have already from those of the first, quite enough for our own expenditure."

"This advice pleased the husband mightily; he repaired forthwith to the tree, and requested the spirit, as the price of his forbearance, to give him another pair of arms, and an additional head. No sooner said than done; and he immediately was possessed of two heads and four arms, with which he returned homewards, highly delighted. His new acquisitions, however, proved fatal; for as soon as the villagers saw him, they exclaimed, 'a goblin! a goblin!' and falling on him with clubs, or pelting him with stones, speedily put a period to his existence. Therefore, I say, &c."

The *Chakradhara* continued: Every one who is tormented by the devil of improper expectations, naturally incurs ridicule, as it is said, 'He who forms extravagant hopes for the future, will be as much disappointed as the father of SÓMA SARMÁ.' How was that? asked the other *Bráhman*; and he with the wheel proceeded.

"There was an avaricious *Bráhman* named SÓMA SARMÁ, who had collected, during the day, as much meal, in alms, as filled an earthen jar. This jar he suspended to a peg, immediately at the foot of his bed, that he might not lose sight of it. During the night he lay awake some time, and reflected thus: That jar is full of meal. If a scarcity should take place, I shall sell it for a hundred pieces at least; with that sum I will buy a pair of goats; they will bear young, and I shall get enough by their sale to purchase a pair of cows. I shall sell their calves, and will purchase buffaloes; and with the produce of my herd, I shall be able to buy horses and mares. By the sale of their colts, I shall realize an immense sum; and with my money, I will build a stately mansion. As I shall then be a man of consequence, some wealthy person will solicit my acceptance of his daughter, with a suitable dower. I shall have a son by her, whom I will call by my own name, SÓMA SARMÁ. When he is able to crawl, I shall take him with me on my horse, seating him before me. Accordingly, when SÓMA SARMÁ sees me, he will leave his mother's lap, and come creeping along, and some day or other he will approach the horses too near; when I shall be very angry, and shall desire his mother to take him away. She will be busy with her household duties, and will not hear my orders; on which I shall give her a kick with my foot. Thus saying, he put forth one of his feet with such violence, as to break the jar. The meal accordingly fell on the ground; where, mingling with the dust and dirt, it was completely spoiled: and so ended SÓMA SARMÁ's hopes.*"

"There is a city in the north, named *Madhupur*, of which MADHUSÉŃA was king. A daughter was born to him, who had three breasts. When the king heard this, he ordered the chief attendant to take away the infant, and expose her in the woods, so that the matter should remain unknown.

* A story of a monkey revenging himself on a king, who had caused a number of tame monkeys to be killed, and the marrow of their bones applied to relieve burns in his horses, scorched by the stables being burnt, here follows; and is succeeded by a tale of a monkey, a thief, and a goblin. Both are omitted, as deficient in interest; the entire fifth section being too long for insertion.

The attendant, however, recommended that, as the birth of such an infant was a very extraordinary event, it would be better to consult the *Bráhmans* what was to be done, so that the consequence might not be the loss of both worlds; as it is said, a wise man should always inquire the meaning of what he observes, like the *Bráhman*, who thus escaped the grasp of the goblin. The king asked how that was, to which the attendant replied:

"CHAŃḌAVARMÁ, a *Rákshasa*, haunted a certain wood, and one day laid hold of a *Bráhman*, who passed, leaping upon his shoulders, and ordering him, at the same time, to proceed. The *Bráhman*, overcome with terror, obeyed; but as he went along, he observed that the goblin's feet were particularly soft and tender, and inquired of him how this happened. The *Rákshasa* replied, I am under a vow never to walk, or touch the ground with my feet. After this, they came to a pool, where the *Rákshasa* said, Let me down, whilst I bathe, and perform my devotions; but beware how you leave the place till I come out of the water. The *Bráhman* obeyed; but when he had got rid of his load, he reflected, that now was his time to escape; for as the *Rákshasa* was incapacitated for walking, he would not be able to overtake the fugitive; accordingly, he took to his heels, and effected his retreat in safety: therefore I said, &c."

The advice thus given by the attendant was followed by the *Rájá;* and having summoned the *Bráhmans,* he consulted them how he should act, to which they replied, "It is said, Sire, that a daughter whose limbs are defective or excessive, will be the cause of death to her husband, and destruction of her own character: and a damsel with three breasts will inevitably be the source of evil to the parent, whose sight she may attract. Your Majesty should therefore take care to avoid seeing your daughter. Let any one, that will, marry her, stipulating that he leaves the country. In this way no offence will be offered to this world, or the next." The *Rájá* approved of this plan, and ordered the drum to be beat, and proclamation to be made, that whoever would marry the princess, and remove with her to a distant country, should receive a hundred thousand rupees. Notwithstanding this offer, no person came forward; and the princess arrived at adolescence, without any one proposing to espouse her. At last, she found a husband.

In the city resided two paupers, who were friends; the one was blind, and the other hunch-backed; the latter, who was named MANTHARA, persuaded the former to marry the princess, with whom, and the money, they should remove to a distant place, and lead a life of ease: or if, by the evil nature

of the princess, he should die, there would at least be an end of his misery. The blind man, accordingly, accepted the terms of the proclamation; and having married the princess, and received the dower, set off with her, and his friend, to a distant residence.

After passing some time contentedly, the blind man giving himself up to indolence, and hunch-back conducting their domestic arrangements, the evil influence of the princess's deformity began to operate, and she intrigued with hunch-back. This couple then soon began to plot the blind man's destruction. With this intent, hunch-back brought home one day a dead snake, of a venomous nature, which he gave to the princess, and desired her to mince it, and dress it with proper sauces, after which she should give it to her husband, telling him it was a dish of fish. MANTHARA then went away, and the princess, delighted, cut up the snake, and set it to boil: then, having other matters to look after, she called to her husband, and desired him to attend to the stirring of the nice mess of fish she was cooking for his dinner. He obeyed her, licking his lips at the intimation, and stirring the vessel as it boiled. In this manner, hanging over the caldron, the fumes of the venom drew the tears so copiously from his eyes, that they gradually dissolved the film which obscured his vision, and he was restored to sight. As he looked into the boiler, he saw immediately that he was cooking the fragments of a black snake. He at once concluded what his wife's design was; but remained in doubt, who her accomplice could be. To ascertain this, he resolved to dissemble, and still affect his former blindness. Presently hunch-back returned, and the husband watching his conduct unobserved, was soon satisfied of the good understanding that subsisted between his treacherous friend, and faithless spouse. He approached them unperceived, and suddenly seizing hunch-back by the feet, being a man of great strength, he whirled him over his head, and dashed him against the breast of the wife with such violence, that his head drove her third breast through her body to her back, and both she, and her paramour, instantly perished: therefore I said, &c.

The *Bráhman* who had found the gold mine then concluded, "It is well said, all prosperity proceeds from Fate; but, in compliance with Destiny, prudence is not to be disregarded in the manner in which you neglected it, by not listening to my advice." He then left his friend to his fate, and returned to his own abode.

VISHNU SARMÁ having thus terminated these narratives, asked the princes,

what more it was necessary for him to say? The princes replied, most worthy preceptor, we have learnt from you all that is essential to the duties of a king. Then we have only to wish, answered VISHNU SARMÁ, that this *Sástra* may be considered as a mirror, reflecting light friendly to other sciences, and facilitating to those, who are acquainted with its contents, the acquirement of worldly wisdom.

When the king found his sons were instructed in this manner, in the course of six months, in the substance of all the *Sástras*, he was highly delighted with their improvement, and acknowledging that the sage had fulfilled his promise, loaded him with unprecedented wealth and favours.

The course of the narrative has interrupted our comments: it is therefore necessary to revert to them, to indicate a very few analogies, which this section offers; and to notice one or two circumstances, which are interesting, as throwing light on a state of manners no longer known to the Hindus.

The first story, of the beggar turned to a lump of gold by a blow, occurs, with some variation, in the third section of the *Hitópadésa*. It may be also considered as connected with the tale of the dervise ABOUNADER, in the Oriental Tales. The chief peculiarity, however, of this story is its correct delineation of *Jain* customs; a thing very unusual in *Bráhmanical* books. The address of the barber, and the benediction of the Superior of the *Vihár*, are conformable to *Jain* usages. The whole is indeed a faithful picture: it is also unaccompanied by any sneer, or abuse; and the satire is rather levelled at the *Bráhmans*. The accuracy of the description is an argument for some antiquity; as the more modern any work is, the more incorrect the description of the *Jainas* and *Baudd'has*, and the confounding of one with the other.

The second story is in both the *Hitópadésa*, and *Kalila Damana*. It was an early favourite in Europe; and is found as a Fabliau; the dog being substituted for the weasel or ichneumon; an exchange in very good taste, when the scene is laid in Europe, but wholly foreign to the notions of the Hindus, amongst whom the dog has never been a domestic animal: whilst the *nëol* or *nakula*, the *viverra mungo*, on the contrary, has always been a pet. The most pleasing form of this celebrated tale is the ballad of *Bath Gellert*.

The passage of the third story, relative to the profits of trade, it is not very easy to render in a satisfactory manner, as the technical terms employed are no longer in use.

The *Góshtika karma* appears to imply the management of lands for others, by the expression illustrative of it; but the *Parichitta-gráhakágama* is by no means clear. One copy alone attempts to explain it. Parichittam ágachchantan gráhacam utcant'hayá vilócya srésht'hí hrĭdayé hrĭshiyaté: The merchant is delighted at heart, when with affected sorrow he sees an acquaintance coming (as a borrower).

The musical pretensions of the ass, and the beating they procure for him, form a fable with which all children are familiar. The recapitulation of musical terms that occurs, is, however, rather curious, and exceeds the limits, to which Sir William Jones and Mr. Paterson have carried their explanation of the musical language of the Hindus. The seven notes are common to the Hindu scale, and that of Europe. The *Grámas* are scales. Of these, the *Madhyama Gráma* is identified by Mr. Paterson with the major, and the *Gandhára* with the minor, mode. The *Múrch'hanas* he considers as the intervals of the scale. There are seven to each *gráma*, or twenty-one in all. *Tála* is the division of time; and the *Mátrás* and *Layas* refer to the same, no doubt. The first possibly implying the duration of the bars, the second that of the notes, and the third that of the rests, or pauses. Of the remaining members of the list, in their purely musical sense, I cannot here attempt an explanation.*

The story of the weaver may remind us of the three wishes, to which, however, in point and humour, it is vastly inferior. That of So'ma-Sarmá is given in the *Kalila Damana*, and *Hitópadésa*. It is in substance the same also as that of Alnaschar, in the Arabian Nights. As related in the *Ayár Dánish* of Abulfazal, it is translated in the first volume of the Asiatic Miscellany.

The story comprised within the last, of the *Rákshasa* who got upon the *Bráhman's* shoulders, contains the hint of the old man who proved so troublesome to Sinbad, in his fifth voyage; and who makes so prominent a figure also in the *Hindi* story of *Kámarúpa* and *Kámalatá*, translated by

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* As relating to vocal music, several of the terms may here be understood in their ordinary sense: *mátrá* refers to syllabic length, or vowel sounds; *varnnas* are consonants; *bháshá* signifies language; and *gítá* tune or song.—H.T.C.

Colonel FRANKLIN. The last story of the section is absurd enough; but it has a curious bearing, although perhaps unintentionally. The malformation of the heroine might be thought a satire on a very popular legend of the south of India; traces of which may be seen in their sculptures, particularly at *Madura.* According to that story, the daughter of one of the early *Pandyan* Kings was born with three breasts. She was an incarnation of DÉVÍ; and the third breast disappeared, when she espoused S'IVA himself, in the form of SUNDARÉS'WARA, the divinity that was ever afterwards the tutelary god of the *Pandyan* kingdom, and its capital, *Madura.* A modification of this legend is also met with in Ceylon; the fair demon KURÁNÍ, having been born with three breasts, one of which disappeared on her espousal of VIJAYA, the prince who first led a colony to that Island.—*Davy's Ceylon*, 294.

NOTE.

The *Hitópadésa* is not the only Sanscrit epitome of the *Panchópác'hyána*, or *Pancha Tantra.* Another abridgment of it, following the original much more closely, both in the matter, and in the arrangement of it, is the *Cat'hámrita-nidhi* (treasure of the nectar of tales), by ANANTA-BHAT'T'A, who describes himself in the introductory and concluding lines of the work, as son of NÁGADÉVA-BHAT'T'A, a *Bráhman* of the *Cáńwa* branch. He professes to preserve in his epitome of the text, the whole of the narrative, or story, but to abbreviate the poetical illustrations. The performance appears, so far as I have compared it with the original, to conform with the author's professed design in that respect.—H.T.C.

XI. *Inscriptions upon Rocks, in South Bihár, described by* Dr. Buchanan Hamilton, *and explained by* Henry Thomas Colebrooke, Esq. *Director.*

Read December 4, 1824.

Dr. Buchanan Hamilton, while engaged in statistical researches in the provinces subject to the government of Bengal, gave attention to the antiquities of the country, as to other scientific objects, which he had the opportunity of investigating. His reports, comprising the result of his inquiries, are deposited in the Library and Museum of the East India Company: and, at his instance, the Court of Directors have sanctioned a liberal communication of the information contained in them, to this Society. Among the antiquities collected by him, there are many *fac similes* of inscriptions. I purpose submitting to the Society explanations of such among them, as are interesting: and I now present the translation of one, which appears curious.

It is an inscription upon a rock, denominated, from an idol delineated on it, *Táráchandí*, in the vicinity of *Sahasram*, in South *Bihár*; and contains the protest of a chieftain, named Pratápa dhavala déva, bearing the title of *Náyaca*, and that of *Rája* of *Japila*, against an usurpation of two villages, by certain *Bráhmanas* in his neighbourhood, under colour of a grant, surreptitiously obtained through corruption of his officers, from the *Rájá* of *Gádhinagara* or *Canyacubja* (*Canoj*) who was the celebrated Vijaya Chandra (Jaya-Chand). Its date is 1229, *Samvat*, corresponding to A.D. 1173.

In Dr. Buchanan Hamilton's collection, there are copies of two other inscriptions upon rocks, in the neighbourhood, exhibiting the name of the same chieftain, in conjunction with many of his kindred in the one; and followed by a long series of his successors in the other. I observe little else interesting in them, besides the names and the dates.

The site of the principal inscription is thus described by Dr. Buchanan Hamilton. " In a narrow passage, which separates the northern end of the hills from the great mass, and through which the road leads from *Sahasram* to *Rautásghar*, is a place where *Táráchándi* is worshipped. The image is

carved on a ledge of rock; and is so small, and so besmeared with oil and red lead, that I am not sure of its form. It seems, however, to represent a woman sitting on a man's knee; but not in the form usual in Bihár, which is called *Hara-gaurí*. Adjacent to the image, a cavity in the rock has been enlarged by one or two pillars in front, supporting a roof, so as to form a shed, to which the priest, and a man who sells offerings and refreshments for votaries and passengers, daily repair. A few persons assemble in the month of *Srávan*. But the chief profit arises from passengers; who are very numerous: and all who can afford, give something. The priest is a *Sannyási*. Above the shed, the Moslemans have erected a small mosque, in order to show the triumph of the faith: but it is quite neglected. The image is usually attributed to the *Chérós*: and many small heaps between the place and *Sahasram*, are said to be ruins of buildings erected by the same people. But a long inscription, carved on the rock within the shed, refers to VIJAYA CHANDRA, sovereign of *Canoj*."

That inscription was strangely misinterpreted by the *Pandita* attached to the survey on which Dr. Buchanan Hamilton was engaged. The *Pandita* supposed the chieftain, PRATÁPA DHAVALA, to premise an intention of commemorating his descendants; and to proceed to the mention of VIJAYA CHANDRA, proprietor of *Canoj*; and SATRUGHNA, son of the *Mahárája*: whence Dr. Hamilton inferred, that VIJAYA CHANDRA was son of PRATÁPA DHAVALA. Dr. Hamilton observes, indeed, that others gave a totally different interpretation: considering it as "an advertisement from PRATÁPA DHAVALA, that he will not obey an order for giving up two villages, which, he alleges, had been procured by corruption from the officers of VIJAYA CHANDRA, King of *Canoj*."

The oriental scholar, upon inspection of the fac simile, will have no difficulty in perceiving that the latter was the right interpretation; and it is therefore needless to pursue remarks which were built upon the *Pandita's* grossly erroneous translation.

The style of the protest is singular; and, on that account alone, I should have thought it very deserving of notice. It serves, however, at the same time to show, that the paramount dominion of *Canyacubja*, extended to the mountains of South *Bihár*: and it presents an instance of the characteristic turbulence of Indian feudatories.

The second inscription, bearing the name of the same chieftain, *Náyaca* PRATÁPA DHAVALA DÉVA, with the date 1219, (A.D. 1163.) Saturday 4.

Jyaisht'ha badi, and underneath the name of his brother, the prince Tribhú-vana dhavala, the prince's wife Sulhi and another female So'malí, and two sons Lacshmyáditya and Padmádítya ; exhibits a rude figure of a goddess *Tótalá dévi,* attributed to the family priest Vis'warúpa. On the other side of the figure, are the names of five daughters, and, at the foot of it, six sons of the *Náyaca.* These are Varcu, Satrughna, Bírabala, Sahasa dhavala, Yámi-cárticéya and Santa-yatna déva. Beneath are names of *Cáyast'has,* Yajnyadhara, and Vidyádhara, sons of Cusuma-hára ; the treasurer Dévarája, and the door-keeper *(pratihára)* Tishala.

The site of this inscription is described by Dr. Buchanan Hamilton: 'Where the *Tutrahi,* a branch of the *Kudura* river, falls down the hills of *Tilot'hu,* is a holy place, sacred to the goddess *Tótalá.* The recess, into which this stream falls, is about half a mile deep ; and terminates in a magnificent, abrupt rock, somewhat in the shape of a horseshoe, and from 180 to 250 feet high. In the centre is a deep pool, at all times filled with water, and which receives the stream, that falls from a gap in this immense precipice. This gap may be 30 feet wide ; and the perpendicular height there, 180 feet.

'The image is said to have been placed by the *Cherós,* about eighteen centuries ago ; and, in fact, resembles one of the images very common in the works attributed to that people in *Bihár.* But this antiquity is by no means confirmed by the inscription, the date of which is evidently in *Samvat* 1389, or A.D. 1332.

'In another inscription it is said, that the family priest of a neighbouring prince, Prata'pa dhavala, had, in A.D. 1158, made the image of the goddess: alluding evidently to a rude figure, carved on rock, and now totally neglected.

'The image now worshipped is, as usual, a slab carved in relief, and represents a female with many arms, killing a man springing from the neck of a buffalo.* It is placed on the highest ledge of the sloping part of the rock, immediately under the waterfall. From two to three hundred votaries, at different times in the month of *Srávan,* go to the place, to pray.'

The third inscription is upon a rock at *Bandugháta,* on the *Sóne* river

* It figures *Mahishásura,* vulg. *Bhainsásur,* slain by *Bhaváni.*

opposite to *Japila*, which was the chieftain's principality. The date assigned to *Mahá-nrîpati* (*i. e.* Mahárájá) Pratápa dhavala, besides the number of 21 years (apparently the duration of his reign, as chief of *Japila*), is, in the *fac simile*, written 2219 *Samvat;* but the first digit being clearly wrong, it must be corrected to 1219, or 1229; most likely the latter. No date is assigned to his predecessor Udaya dhavala; nor to the line of his successors, beginning with Vicrama, who is perhaps the same with Varcu (the first among his sons, named in the second inscription,) and who appears from the epithet of *Vijayin*, "victorious," to have been the reigning prince, when his name was here set down. The rest must have been subsequently, from time to time, added; and the first among them is Sahasa dhavala, perhaps the fourth son of Pratápa dhavala, mentioned in the second inscription.

Above all this, there have been inscribed, at a much later period, other names, *viz.* '*Mahárájá* Nyunat raï or Nyunta ráya, who went to heaven (*surapura*, *i. e.* the city of the gods) in the year 1643 *Samvat;*' and '*Mahárájá* Pratápa ráya, or Pratapa rudra, who went to heaven in the year 1653 *Samvat.*'

In another part of the inscription, there occurs the name of *Mahárájá* Mánasinha, with the dates of 1652 and 1653 *Samvat;* and lower down, a string of three names, *Mahárájá* Cansarája, Pratápa dhavala déva, and Madana sinha. Between the two last, there is interposed the date of 1624 *Samvat.*

The name of Pratápa appears then to have been of frequent recurrence. The family, which yet possesses the principality of *Bilonja*, the representative of which, when visited by Dr. Hamilton, was *Rájá* Bhúpanát'ha sá, claims descent from Pratápa dhavala, chief of *Japila.*

Japila is a large estate, south of *Rautás* (*Róhitáswa*), in the district of *Rámaghar.* But the territories of the ancient chieftain seem to have extended beyond its present limits, and to have reached the vicinity of *Sahasram.*

These inscriptions have no other chronological value, but as they corroborate the date of one possessing more historical interest, noticed in the Researches of the Asiatic Society of Bengal (vol. 9, p. 441). It records a grant of land, by the same *Rájá* of *Canyacubja*, Vijaya chandra; and, as usual, recites the names of his ancestors, tracing his genealogy through no

less than six generations. The original was said to have been transmitted to Great Britain by the late Sir John Murray M'Gregor; but I am unable to say where it has been deposited. It would be an acceptable communication, as serving to authenticate the history of a prince among the most conspicuous in the annals of his country; on which he inflicted the same calamity which Count Julian did on Spain, by assisting a Musleman conquest of it, in revenge for the abduction of his daughter.* The analogy indeed is not quite complete; for it was *seduction* of a daughter which Count Julian sought to revenge.

Concerning the inscription at *Tárachandí*, of which a translation is here presented, it is to be remarked, that the denunciation or protest, which it records, is first expressed in verse,† and is then repeated in prose. This repetition has much assisted the decyphering of it, and the correction of some errors, either of the original, or of the copy. A few explanatory notes will be found annexed.

Translation of the Inscription at Tárácháńdí.

"Pratápa dhavala, wholly divine (*déva*), possessor of happily risen and celebrated glory, addresses his own race. In these villages, contiguous to *Calahańd'i*,‡ that contemptible ill copper§ [grant], which has been obtained by fraud and bribery, from the thievish slaves of the sovereign of *Gádhinagara*,|| by priests sprung from *Suvalluhala*:¶ there is no ground of

* See p. 147 of this volume.

† In two stanzas of *Vasanta-tilaca* metre.

‡ *Calahan'd'i*; written *Calahandí*, with a long vowel, in the prose paraphrase.

§ The text exhibits, in two places, *cutámbra*; which, I conjecture, should be *cu-támra*, from *cu* ill and *támra*, copper; alluding to a grant inscribed, as usual, upon copper. There may be an allusion to *Cutámba*, the name of a district in that vicinity.

|| *Gádhinagara*, the same with *Gádhipura*, is identified with *Canyacubja*.—See As. Res. ix. 441.

¶ *Suvalluhala*; written *Swallu haníya* in the prose paraphrase; it appears to be the designation of the *Bráhmanas*, who had obtained the grant of land in question.

faith to be put therein by the people around. Not a bit of land, so much as a needle's point might pierce, is theirs.

"*Samvat* 1229. *Jyésht'ha badi* 3d Wednesday.

"The feet of the sovereign of *Japila*, the great chieftain, the fortunate Pratápa dhavala déva, declare the truth to his sons, grandsons, and other descendants sprung of his race: this ill copper* [grant] of the villages of *Calahańdí* and *Badayitá*, obtained by fraud and bribery, from the thievish slaves of the fortunate Vijaya chandra, the king, sovereign of *Canyacubja*† by *Swalluhanıya*‡ folks: no faith is to be put therein. Those priests are every way libertines. Not so much land, as might be pierced by a needle's point, is theirs. Knowing this, you will take the share of produce and other dues; or destroy."

"[*Signature*] of the great *Rájaputra* (king's son), the fortunate Satrughna."

XII. *Comments on an Inscription upon Marble, at Madhucarghar; and three Grants Inscribed on Copper, found at Ujjayani, by Major James Tod.*

Read June 19, 1824.

I have the honour to present to the Society, three copper-plates, and to submit translations of the inscriptions on two of them.* They were obtained by me from the ancient city of *Avantí*, or *Ujain* (*Ujjayani*), about twelve years ago.

At the same time I adjoin a translation of a third inscription relative to the same family (of which these plates are records), and which I was so fortunate as to discover in my last tour of Central India, in 1822.

These will be considered of consequence, as they at once fix the period of a celebrated dynasty, and an important era in the history and literature of India.

The dynasty, of which they are memorials, is the *Prámára*, vulgarly *Püár* or *Powár*, one of the most distinguished of the *Rája-cúla*, or Royal Races of India. It is one of the four tribes, to which I alluded in a former paper, claiming their origin from the personified element of fire, in common with the other races of *Agni-cúla*; the *Cháhamána*, *Parihára*, and *Sólankí*.

I know of no tribe having a more wide range over the historical field of India, than that in question. It enjoyed more extensive dominion than any other of the race of *Agni*; and had acquired it at a much earlier period: for, though four existed collaterally, as independent monarchs, yet the glory of the *Prámáras* was on the wane, when that of the *Sólankís*, the famed Balhara (*Ballabh-raï*), kings of *Narhwára*, was in the zenith; to which the *Cháhamánas* were rapidly approximating; and, in their success, extinguished the independence of the fourth, or *Parihára*, dynasty of *Mandówar*.

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* See note A.

So extensive was the *Prámára* sway, that the couplet, or "*Dóhá*," in the Doric dialect of these parts, "Pirthí! tain na Pówár ka," "Earth, thou art the *Powár's*," has little of the hyperbole, when restricted to the Indian world: and, though we cannot see the link of succession, it seems to have been the first tribe that succeeded to the extensive power which the *Yádavas* had so long maintained before them.

There are more ramifications (*Sác'hás*) of the *Prámára*, than of any of the "*Ch'hétís Rája-cúla*," or thirty-six royal races, excepting the *Ch'hépan cúla Yádava*, or fifty-six tribes of the *Yádavas*, celebrated in the Sacred Books. The *Prámáras* enumerate no less than thirty-six.

On an inscription, in my possession, of the *Grahilóte* race, the eulogist does not limit their number; and says, in the usual figurative style, "*Apramáňa śác'há*" "of innumerable ramifications;" though the *Grahilótes* are in fact limited to twenty-four.

The names of all the thirty-six *Prámára* tribes are not now to be collected. About one third may be given with tolerable certainty of being accurate; but only the names. They are few in numbers, and without power; and, but for the itinerant bard and genealogist, would cease to know themselves.

Many now extinct, or not known under their ancient appellations, are traced in books and inscriptions. By these I have rescued a few once celebrated names and tribes, which, I may say, had else perished: amongst others, that of *Lár*, a once powerful tribe, and said, by the only living bard I ever knew, who was acquainted with it, to be of *Prámára* stock.

The *Cumára-pála-charitra* (which I this day present to the Society) mentions the celebrated Jaya-sinha of *Pattana* "having extirpated the remnant of the race of *Lár*," from the peninsula of *Sauráshtra*, in which it was formerly all powerful. Doubtless this tribe furnished Ptolemy with the name, which he gives in his geography, of this peninsula, "Larike;" and he places a Byzantium near the very spot, the ancient *Ballabhí* (which I had the good fortune to discover), the capital of the *Ballabhí-ráïs*, and the origin of their title. Their capital was afterwards transferred to "*Nehrwála*;" which that great geographer, D'Anville, had "fort à cœur de retrouver," and which I had the happiness to find still as a suburb to *Pattana Anurwára*: evidently the corruption of the original name, *Analavát'a*; and which Abul Fazil had discovered in Akber's reign.

For the existence of several tribes, extinct else in their martial capacity, search ought to be made amongst the mercantile races of *Rájast'hán;* almost all of whom are of *Rájaputra* origin; especially the numerous, or innumerable, classes of the *Jain* laity.

Amongst the eighty-four grand divisions* of the *Vaiśya,* I find that of *Lár:* but I never had an opportunity to converse with one, to whom I could apply for information as to the period of their renouncing arms and becoming proselytes of the *Jains.*

Silára is another branch. An inscription (in the 1st vol. As. Res.) of a prince of this tribe, gives his capital *Tagara,* his title Ari-césari, or the Lion of *Aria,*† which, with *Larike,* seems to have formed the ancient Balhara sovereignty; and of the former part of which *Aria-ke, Tagara,* and Callian (*Calyáńa*), were the chief cities.

In another list, *Silura* is given as of *Prámára* race; probably another mode of writing *Sílára;* and both from *Lár,* with the distinctive prefix of *Sí* for *Su,* meaning excellent.

The *Dahya* and *Johya*‡ were once celebrated on the *Setlej,* both now extinct. These may be the *Dahæ* of Alexander, and of the Parthian kings.§ *Sankla* is one of the few tribes, having still "a local habitation and a name;" its residence is in *Marwar,*‖ at the bend of the *Lúní* river; and its reputation for bravery is still very great.

The *Kheir* and *Mori* branches were once renowned, *Kheirálú* ¶ and

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* Some of these have numerous shoots or families, (for tribes would be a misnomer). The *Oswál* for instance, most of whom follow the tenets of the *Khartra gachha* sect of *Jains,* have near eighteen hundred of these subdivisions. My own learned friend and *Guru, Yatí* Gya'na chandra, was high in rank amongst the disciples of the Pontiff of the *Khartras,* had upwards of seventeen hundred names of families of his flock scattered over India, and piqued himself upon his catalogue; when a brother, from Guzzerat, added at once upwards of a hundred. He renounced thenceforth the task of tracing their affiliations.

† See note B.

‡ I believe I succeeded, just before I left India, in getting a work relative to this tribe, but too late to examine it: it shall be deposited with the Society.

§ "The Arsacian King, Bardanes, conquered all, to the Sind river, which divides the *Dahi* from the *Arii.*" Lewis' Parthian Empire, p. 249.

‖ Maru or Marubhú.

¶ In Guzzerat.

Chitóre, their capitals. But what will excite some surprise, the celebrated *Hun* is enrolled as a branch of the *Prámáras.* That Europe only was deluged with this race, we knew well was not the case: Cosmos relates the White Huns, or Abtelites, being in India in the fifth century; and Dr. Wilkins made the world acquainted with the fact, that they had invaded Bengal, from the record of *Déb-pál-déb,** "who humbled the pride of the Huns," to use the words of the translator of the inscription engraven on the pillar near *Buddal.*† My journey to Guzzerat led me to discover, that they were even yet not extinct: the name still lived; but it is "vox et præterea nihil," confined to a few miserable families near the estuary ofthe *Mahi* river, poor and degraded, and without any recollection of their origin. Various authorities acquaint us with the fact of Indo-Scythian tribes overrunning all these tracts; and their descendants are still there. The *Kdthí* (the Cathei), still brave and independent, as when they opposed Alexander, and scarcely reconciled to the paternal government, which has made them turn their javelins‡ into plough-shares. They can be traced from the *Pancha-nada*, the *Sangama*, or junction, of the "Five streams" of the Indus, to their present abodes.

The *Prámára* genealogist enlists the *Káthí* into his catalogue; or rather, ambition has made these Scythians (the Sun still the great object of adoration) wish to get a niche in the Hindu pantheon; and which appears to have been a matter of no great difficulty, from the suspicious characters we find there.

Ptolemy gives a "Regnum Parthorum," existing in the second century, embracing all these tracts from *Multán* to the gulph of Cambay; and to that the *Ráná's* ancestors must have owed expulsion from *Ballabhí*, in the sixth century. But this is wandering from the subject.§

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* See note C.

† The translator's words are "Hoons of humbled pride." As. Res. V. 1. p. 136—7.—H.T.C.

‡ The *Kat'hí* lance is made to dart, as well as for close action.

§ I attribute to this dynasty a series of coins of an interesting description, on which I shall hereafter offer some remarks. Legends, in rude Greek characters, mark these to be a branch of the Arsacian line. For they assume the same lofty titles ΒΑϹΙΛΕΥϹ, ΒΑϹΙΛΕΩϹ ϹΩΤΗΡΩϹ: on others, ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ instead of Soteros; making it still more Parthian, the latter epithet being borne by the Bactrian princes, who never did assume this "of the great King of Kings"

The regal chair of the *Prámáras* was fixed in *Avantí*, long before the hristian era. VICRAMÁDITYA was not the first conspicuous monarch who ielded the sceptre in this ancient city; though he is a most important ne, and might be placed as the fixed point, both in their geography* and story.

CHANDRAGUPTA, who has generally been supposed to be the Sandracottus f Alexander and Seleucus, was of the *Prámára* tribe, and the branch Iori, not Maurya, as it has probably been interpolated, and which held *hitracút'a* (*Chítóre*), as a grand fief from *Avantí*, so late as the eighth entury, when taken by a prince of the *Grahilóte* tribe, ancestor of the resent *Ráná* of *Mewár*.

CHANDRAGUPTA, in the *Purános*, is placed as the descendant of *Sehesnág* f the *Tacshac* race (most probably the Tachari of higher Asia), which ppears to have invaded India from the north, six or seven centuries before ne Christian era.

The inscription, to which I alluded (in my paper on the *Cháhamánas*),† f a CHANDRAGUPTA, was dated Samvat 466, but I said it was doubtfu hether of the *Vicrama* or *Viráta* era. It was given to me by the Hierarch f the *Khartrágachha*, the first of all the *Jain* sects; and is in a characte isused in India, but which he and his librarian, and two of his chie lisciples, can read. With it were other interesting inscriptions of the same ind, (but modified); and a key to the character I shall have the honou o present on some future occasion to the Society.

The *Viráta-Samvat* is that of MAHÁVÍRA, the last of the twenty-fou leified *Jinéśwaras;* and was established four hundred and seventy-seven ears anterior to that of *Vicramáditya*, and continued in use long after th atter: but when it began to be generally used is uncertain; and it conse uently causes considerable doubt, when referring to *Jaina* dates. I am ot sure that it is not still used in sacred matters.

Now it is related, that MAHAVÍRA expounded to CHANDRAGUPTA, the Lord of *Avantí*, his twelve dreams. This CHANDRAGUPTA, therefore, could ot be the ally of Seleucus. But the same proper names recur at interval n many genealogies.

Bayer, in his history of the Bactrian kingdom, and D'Anville, bot

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* *Avantí* is the first meridian of the Hindu astronomers.

† See page 133 of this volume.

borrowing from the same source (Nicolas of Damascus),* say, that Porus, king of Ogene, who enumerated six hundred kings, his dependants, sent an embassy to Augustus at Rome; thus making a proper name of the tribe *Pówár*: nor is it impossible, from the same mistake, the opponent of Alexander may have been designated; though *Paurha* † or *Paurush* (which means power, strength) was a common distinctive appellation of the *Yádavas*, who certainly were in the route of Alexander. It is to these authorities, and that of Sir Thomas Roe, ambassador from James I. to Jehángír, that the Ráná's family is indebted for the honour of descent from Porus. One of the most considerable branches of his family is termed *Purâwat*, descendants of Puru, a son of Udaya sinha, from whom *Chítóre* was wrested by Akber. His stock must have been pretty numerous when Sir Thomas there saw young Kurrun (*Caran*), the heir apparent of *Udayapur*, in whose praise he is so lavish: "Here we have (says he in a letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury) the true descendant of Porus, a prince, in the midst of the Mogul dominions, and who has never been conquered." The latter point is correct: they had often been defeated; not a city left in the plains, not a house to shelter them; but to that period they never had been subdued.

Like the Carthaginian of old, swearing young Hannibal at the altar to eternal hatred to the Romans, so did the noble Pratápa sinha, the opponent of Akber, in his last moments, make his son Amara swear, not hatred, but eternal war, and never to know the luxury of a roof over his head, until *Chítóre* should be regained. He even commanded the nobles to withdraw their allegiance, if this, his last command, was disobeyed, and to set up another branch of the family. Temporary success, and consequent repose, made Amara forget the injunction; he erected a mansion ‡ on the banks of the *Paisholah* lake at *Udayapur*; and amongst its garniture, some splendid mirrors of European fabric from Surat. The nobles began to follow his example, though *Chítóre*, their ancient capital, was still in the hands of the foe. Recollecting the injunctions of Pratápa (a name they yet love to dwell on), the *Salúmbra* chief, the first of the nobles, convened his brethren; and in a body they expostulated with their prince, insisting that he should immediately relinquish the abode of luxury for the field. Not meeting with compliance, the chieftain seized the marble ornament

* Eclaircissement, p. 177. † See note D. ‡ Still pointed out.

which keeps down the carpet, and dashed it against the splendid mirror. Rage was unavailing; the patriot chief called for his prince's steed, and compelled him to mount. A flood of tears succeeded the indignity; which were allowed to flow without any signs of sympathy by the stern chief: when, suddenly, a nobler sentiment came to mind; he bowed and thanked the *Salúmbra* chief, and, drawing his sword, told him to lead the way. That very day, they stormed and took *Untálá.** I shall be excused the notice of this anecdote, as it shews the character of the people, and warrants the praise which the ambassador of England bestowed. Such men could not be conquered!

Yet, with every wish, I could never trace the connection of the *Ráná's* family to the Porus of Alexander; though his ancestor, when first attacked by the Muhammedans, had "eighty-four kings assembled within his walls, for the defence of *Chítóre.*" The six hundred of the *Powár* must have been a Hindu exaggeration.

The letter to Augustus was written in the Greek character; and Bayer's authority, Nicolas of Damascus,† says it was so, and he had seen it. Considerable traffic was carried on by them in those days; and Greek merchants were settled in various parts of the coasts. The personage in the suite of the ambassador, who voluntarily ended his days at Athens on the pyre, was most probably a *Jaina.*‡

Abul Fazil's sketch of the *Prámára* dynasty, in the institutes of Akber, is too imperfect to be of the slightest use; and is the worst of his many indifferent genealogies.

Avantí and *Dhárńnagarí* were the chief seats of *Prámára* power. It extended south, however, of the *Nermadá;* and comprehended all Central and Western India, or what is erroneously termed *Rajputáná.*

The Indus, and *Setlej* or *Garah,* were its western limits. Many of the traditionary couplets in India contain historical facts. That which records

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* A fortress about twenty miles east of the pass which conducts into the valley of *Udayapur.*

† Historia Regni Græcorum Bactriana, p. 109. "Tanto autem post Eucratidem tempore, cum ad Cæsarem Augustum a Pandione Poroque Indiæ regibus legati venirent, Nicolaus Damascenus, qui cum iis Antiochiæ ad Daphnem egit, testatur habuisse eos, epistolam Græcam in Diphthera Scriptam, quæ significavit, quod Porus sex centorum regum princeps cum scripserit."

‡ See Note E.

the extent of sway of the various *Prámára* branches in the north-west regions of *Maru-st'halí** is very correct. It contains the names of the chiefs who founded and ruled over its nine divisions,† or places of strength.

The descendants of some among them still occupy the same places: as the *Soda* prince of *Dhát* in the Desert, of which *Amaracut'a* is the capital. He has the title of *Rání*. It was his ancestor who was killed by JELÁLUDDÍN, in his flight into India from the Great JANGÍZ.

Arbuda or *A'bú* is, however, the cradle where the *Prámára* was at least regenerated. On this sacred mount I have seen the statues of the first and of the last of its independent princes.

That of the first, *A'rpál* (*A'dipála*), shooting at *Bhainsásur* (*Mahishásura*), is a marble statue nearly four feet in height, standing on the edge of the *Mandácana cund* or fountain. He has just shot his arrow, which has pierced three of those monsters, who are feigned to have drained the fountain of its waters. These are modern representations of the fabulous monsters, (the old having fallen down), and are poorly executed in black slate stone; but the figure of *A'rpál*‡ is far superior to any thing they could execute in these days. A few indistinct words were engraven on the pedestal; but no date. There cannot be a doubt, however, of its high antiquity. It was too sacred a relict to think of removing it from the spot whence it derived its chief value.

That of the last of the *Prámáras*, not 700 years old, represents DHÁRÁBARSA, the last independent prince of *A'bú*, supplicating the offended *Patáléśwara* § to pardon his sacrilege, and restore his kingdom, which fell to KÚTEBUDDÍN. He was the last of his line, called Daraparissa by Ferishta:

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* Deserts: literally Region of Death. J. T.

Maru desert, and *st'halí* dry land. *Maru* is derived from *mri* to die: a region where one dies. H.T.C.

† 1 *Arbuda* or *Abú*.
2 *Parkar* in the desert.
3 *Jaléndra* or Jalore.
4 *Dhát* or *Amaracut'a*.
5 *Mandáwar* (near Jódhpur.)
6 *Púgal* (N. W. of Bikanér.)
7 *Khairálu* (in Guzzarat.)
8 *Dhár* and *Avantí*.
9 *Lódarwa* (ancient capital before Jesalmér was built.)

‡ *A'r-pál* or *A'di-pála*, i. e. the first *Pála*: which may be further translated the first fostered, or first born.

§ The Lord of the infernal regions.

who makes honourable mention of him, for his noble resistance to the Imperial Legions. This branch of the *Prámáras*, probably held *A'bú* and its dependances as a fief of *Dhár*; and, as the latter lost importance, *A'bú* maintained itself independent, or in a state of vassalage, alternately to the Balhara (Ballabhi-raï) sovereigns, or to the kings of Dehli.

Thus JAIT and SULAKHA, the ancestors of DHÁRÁBARSA, were extricated from subservience to the Ballabhi-raïs, only to grace the array of PIRTHWÍ-RÁJA, who married the daughter of JAIT, and bestowed on him the office of *Prad'hán*;* and both lost their lives in his service. The death of SULAKHA† is mentioned in my former paper. The Black Castle of the *Prámáras*, built of immense blocks of granite, grey with lichen, perched on a pinnacle of this noble mountain, is a majestic ruin. The gateway (arched, if my memory does not betray me,) is yet nearly perfect, flanked by enormous massive towers. The Palmyra has taken root in its deserted court, and flutters its huge leaves, where all is silent, save the screams of the peacock.

As I passed through the portal, the devotion of SULAKHA was forcibly brought to mind; and I had but to ascend a few steps, and look from the ruined parapet, to view *A'r-pál*, the founder, shooting *Bhainsásur*. At the base ~~of the~~ western face of the stupendous Arabullah-chain, I was so fortunate as to discover an ancient city of this race, called *Chandrávatí*, which has long been the haunt of wild beasts. From its ready formed materials, *Ahmedabad* arose: which accounts for the Hindu style of architecture in this city. I have an inscription, 600 years old, which mentions *Chandrávatí*; but it was of little interest, till I discovered the ruin itself, about fourteen miles east of *A'bú*. The town is mentioned in the *Bhója Charitra*, as will be seen. It is in these stupendous ranges where search should be made for ancient remains. In such, now inhabited by wild beasts, I have discovered places once the abode of crowned heads.

There is little doubt that the *Prámára* was the first race which succeeded to the great power possessed by the *Yádavas*.

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* Chief Minister.

† Orthography and pronunciation cannot be *strictly* attended to, when there is a variety of information which bears on family history: for the genealogists and poets, in the vernacular dialects, have no certain standard themselves, but shorten or lengthen names according to the metre, *Silakh*, *Sulakh*, or *Sulakhan*: for each and all are but corrupt contractions of the compound epithet *Sulacshana* "of good qualities."

Imperfectly as we can trace this extent of power, yet we can discover, in no other succeeding dynasty, the like. The sovereigns of *Nehrwala Pattan* were rich and powerful; and, for three reigns, their authority extended over eighteen different states, reduced by them to dependence. It was at this period El Edrisi visited that country, and he repeats what had already been told by the "travellers," of the ninth century, concerning the "Balhara" kings, though the dynasty had changed from the *Chaura* to *Solankí* tribes. The *Tüár* dynasty, for near four hundred years (from the eighth to the twelfth century), exercised extensive sovereignty, in which they must have often clashed with the *Balharas;* whose power was at the full in the same period; and each rose on the downfall of the *Prámára.* It is a singular fact, that scions of old dynasties were forming new kingdoms in various parts of India, about the very time that the religion of Muhammed was moving eastward: for the arms of Wálid were simultaneously exhibited in *Khorasán,* on the waters of the Indus, and in Spain, towards the end of the first century of the Hejira; and about the same time, from A.D. 750 to 800, various new dynasties were planted: *Dehli* by a branch of the *Tuár* line; *Pattan* (*Nehrwala*) by the *Chauras; Chitóre* by the *Ránás;* and, not long after, *Canwajja* (*Canouj*), by the Rahtore. It is from the first century of *Vicramáditya,* to these new establishments, we are most in want of information: and all that we yet have to fill up these seven centuries, is little more than a string of names. Even such is seized with avidity, where nothing before was forthcoming. It is by neglecting nothing, however slight or isolated the fragment, we may fill up eventually some of these blanks: but to be of use, the search must be extensive. I have more than once found an old couplet, borne in the memory, serve as a clue to the establishment of a valuable and useful fact, which could not else have been applicable.

The bard Chand describes the dynasties, enjoying sovereignty when he writes, as having originally emanated in grants from the *Prámára,* of whom their ancestors appear to have held in capite. It forms an episode in the relation of the battle between Prit'hwirája and the monarch of *Canwajja.*

In the heat of action, after the Lord of Dehli had cut to pieces every thing which opposed him, he is encountered by the body guard of Jayachand, which consists of one thousand *Rájputs,* of whom a very animated description is afforded. Struck with their appearance, the *Cháhamána* sovereign asks 'who they are?' which serves as a theme for the bard, and yields us comparatively important historical information at the same time.

Like the knights of St. John at Jerusalem, these heroes were devoted to celibacy; and lived as ascetics in the depths of the forests where they had their establishments. Their garb is singular: for not only have they the plume of the peacock *(mór)*, as an ornament on their helms; but their bucklers are described as bearing its impress burnished on them, and the housings of their steeds. The war shell, or conch, in those days always a part of a warrior's equipment; and from which, old poems mention their always blowing a blast, before combat, or after victory. The episode is very animated in the original; and I shall venture to submit an extract from my defective version, which may be listened to from curiosity.

EXTRACT.

"Who are those, said Prithí-Ráj, in the guise of the recluse? Those, replied Chand, enjoy the blessing of Náred! One thousand warriors of unspotted race served the prince of *Tailang*, equal to a million in arms. A thousand shells they sounded on the banks of Ocean, their abode. Like the thunderbolt is their soul: their devotion to the spirit alone, each the purest of the tribe of *Rájaputra*.

"When the *Prámára* of *Tailang* took sanctuary with the creator, to the thirty-six tribes he made gifts of land. To *Kehar* he gave *Katair*; to *Ráï Pahár*, the coasts of Sind: *Ráma Prámár Tailang* made the grant; and to these, the forest lands. *Pattan* he gave to the *Chaurás*; *Sámbhar* to the *Chóháns*; and *Canwaj* to the *Khamdhaj*; *Már-dés* to the *Parihárs*; *Sorat'h* to the *Yádavas*; *Dakhin* to the *Jawala*; and *Kuch* to the *Chárans*.

"Twisted in their braided locks is the peacock's plume. Each sounded his shell. Earth trembled, the firmament rolled, dismay seized the three worlds, clouds of dust formed a canopy over the head of Jayachand. To each warrior of the shell, he gave a sword. A peal was rung, which shook *Suméru* with affright: their station the person of their lord, this day they had to draw their swords in his defence. On one side they rehearse the praise of their prince; the leaders of *Dehli*, the renown of Prithí-Ráj."

It was for historical and geographical fragments like these, that I had read to me a great part of the works of the bard.

At the period when that distribution was made, the *Prámára* well merited the title which CHAND bestows on him, of *Chakwa*, (*Chacravartí*) or paramount Lord; for, not only was all that immense space, described in my former paper as *Hindust'han*, subject to him, but a great part of the *Dakhin*. The grant is mentioned as (*dána*) gift; not specific enough for a grant on the tenure of service.

PRĬT'HWÍRÁJA made many conquests. He left the countries to the conquered, but exacted submissions, in treaties, in which subservience was the chief stipulation, such as mark the connexion with their descendants and the British government of India. Many of his hundred *Sáwants*, or leaders, were thus; as the *Parihára* of Mandówar; JAIT and SILAKH of *A'bú;* the *Dahima* of Biana; the *Ták* of Asér; the *Yádava* of *Surdshtra*, even to the prince of *Gówal-cund*, or Golconda. It was a feudal association of the first magnitude, such as existed in the East from the days of Darius and his Satrapies, to the twenty-two Subahs of Akber. Alexander pursued the same system, and entered into their mode of accepting service and homage by delivering a banner to the conquered prince, returning his dominions for service. The kings of Dehli followed this course. The princes of *Mewar* did so. Each nation has its flag and armorial bearings; the *Ránás*, a golden radiated sun on a crimson field; *Ambere*, the *Pancharanga*, or five-coloured banner; *Chandéru* had a lion (red), on a field argent; and so on.

Richardson's* ideas, that the grand outlines of the feudal system came from the East, might have been received with more attention had he been enabled to detail more of the minutiæ of it.

But I must return to the subject of the *Prámáras*. Of the different works, or remnants of those which relate to this family, are the *Vicrama-charitra*, and *Vicrama-vilása;* the *Vaitála panchavinsati*, familiarly known, and which is a mere collection of fables. The *Bhója-charitra* and *Bhója-prabandha*, as they now exist, are far from possessing much value; yet, from the first of these, something may be gleaned, and it is of interest as recording the same names of princes, and in the same order of succession, as my inscriptions, on copper and marble. The few historical facts, separated from the chaff, are worthy of preservation from the testimony of their accuracy yielded by these less perishable records.

The *Bhója-charitra* (which, with the *Bhója-prabandha*, I present to the

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* Dissertation prefixed to Persian Dictionary.

Society) is written in *Sanscrit* by RÁJA-VALLABHA the disciple of MAHÍ TILACA SÚRI, a priest of the *Dharma ghósha gach'ha*, belonging to the *Jaina* sect. He is also the author of the *Bhója-Prabandha.** When and where he wrote, though not specified, may be presumed to have been at *Dháránagarí*, while *Rájá* BHÓJA was still alive.*

The first canto contains an account of the adoption of MUNJA, and the birth of BHÓJA; with the conversion of DHANA-PÁLA to the *Jaina* faith. DHANA-PÁLA was the son of the celebrated VARARUCHÍ, one of the distinguished wise men at BHÓJA's court, and was given for adoption, in consequence of a vow, to the *Jaina* priest, SIDDHA SÉNA A'CHÁRYA. VARARUCHÍ became a most distinguished character for wisdom: and is probably the *Dhanwantari*, one of the nine gems of *Dhár*. RÁJÁ BHÓJA was himself in secret a proselyte† to the *Jaina* doctrines; as were many of the princes of that and the preceding age: particularly the dynasty of *Nehrwala*, which is mentioned by El Edrisi. The little, which we know of the *Parihára* dynasty, mentions its princes making profession of that religion: and certainly, in their ancient and now ruined capital *Mandódri*,‡ the few temples left by the Muhammedans are of *Jaina* structure.

SINDHU-RÁJA was Lord of *Dháránagarí*. He had no offspring. Accident led him to find the child MUNJA,§ whom he adopted.

Abul Fazil, who industriously made use of these historical fragments in his Institutes of Akbar, says, the foundling was discovered in a field of *Munja*, whence his name.¶

SINDHU had a son, after this, who was named SIND'HULA: but the great talents of the adopted child maintained the priority in the affections of SIND'HU. It is necessary to repeat the story which determined SIND'HU to resign the sceptre of *Dhárá* and *Avantí* to MUNJA; because it introduces the name of his minister, who is mentioned in the most valuable of the inscriptions, that on marble, from the ancient fortress of *Madhucara-garh*.

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* See Note F.

† May not the fable of his metamorphosis, and resuming his shape, refer to his adoption of the *Jaina* doctrines?

‡ Four miles N. E. of *Jódhpur*, the present capital of *Marwár*.

§ See Note G.

¶ See Note H.

One day SIND'HU entered suddenly the apartments of MUNJA, for the purpose of communicating his intentions in his favour. The young princess of MUNJA was with him; but, hearing the king's approach, he hid her under the bed. Supposing they were alone, SIND'HU revealed his intentions. As soon as he retired, MUNJA shewed, says the author, "that want of feeling, without which no man can govern a kingdom," and effectually prevented her revealing the secret, by cutting off her head.* The noise brought the old chief SIND'HU back, who was not only satisfied with his explanation, but determined to hasten his abdication. Communicating his intentions to his minister, RUDRÁDITYA,† he convened his chiefs and officers, declared his intentions, and proceeded to the coronation of MUNJA, whom he commanded them henceforth to acknowledge. SIND'HU retired to the *Dakhin*, recommending his son SINDHULA to the protection of MUNJA. An incident, not worth repeating, roused the jealousy of MUNJA, who blinded the son of his benefactor.

BHÓJA was the son of SIND'HULA, but the astrologers pronouncing that his horoscope indicated succession to the throne of *Dhárá*, a sufficient excuse was afforded to MUNJA, to add a murder to the list of his crimes. The execution of BHÓJA was commanded; but the person, who was entrusted with the decree, relenting on seeing the youth and beauty of the victim, revealed his orders, and concealed him. He, however, reported the deed as performed, to MUNJA; giving him a couplet written by BHÓJA, with his own blood.‡ Remorse succeeded to fear and jealousy, and he lamented, with unceasing grief, the deed he had commanded. But when the preservation of the young prince was disclosed, joy succeeded despair, generosity instead of resentment against the child's preserver; and he determined to make amends to the offspring of his benefactor. He forthwith abandoned the throne of *Dháránagarí* to BHÓJA, and, at the head of a large army, determined to conquer new possessions for himself in the

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* See note I.

† Which name appears on the *Madhucara-garh* marble.—J.T.

RUDRA'DITYA was son of S'IVA'DITYA the minister of RA'JÁ SIND'HU; and was appointed to succeed his father on the accession of MUNJA: who then delivered to him the seal of office. *Bh. Ch.* 1. 13. and 50.—H.T.C.

‡ It is preserved by Abul Fazil.

south; but upon coming to action with a prince there, he was defeated, and eventually made prisoner. He is stated to have lost the battle by a stratagem of his opponent, who strewed the ground with crow feet* made of iron.

Munja, defeated, and a fugitive, took refuge in the house of a cowherd, whose dame was cursing her fate at the milk having curdled; and he announced himself by his misfortunes. "Silence your grief, woman, I was yesterday Rájá Munja, Lord of 70,000 men; now compelled to ask assistance of one like you, and these milk-fed clowns," (meaning her husband and sons). But this indiscretion cost him his liberty. They seized the enemy of their prince, and conveyed him to prison; and captivity for life was the sentence pronounced on the ex-prince of *Dhăránagarí*. Shut up in a tower, one female slave was all the courtly train he had.

Bhója was grateful enough to attempt his liberation: and contrived to have communicated to him his intentions, by a mine conducted to the foot of the tower. The female attendant saw his joy; and the affection he had for her made him impart to her the secret, and entreat her to be the partner of his flight. She promised.—The moment arrived.—The earth opened to his liberation at his feet below, but at the same moment his foes appeared, led by the female of whom he so imprudently made a confidante. These pulled him by the hair above, those below by the feet; and in this struggle, the unfortunate Munja desired he might be left to his fate and captivity. This generous effort of Rája Bhója increased the miseries of Muṅja. His enemy refined on cruelty, made him go the rounds of the city, and obtain his scanty pittance of food by begging from door to door. One day, having made his daily perambulation without obtaining even the humblest dole, he stood at the door of a baker's house, who recognized the fallen monarch, and wept at the sight. He commanded his wife to give him one of the cakes frying in butter, but the prudent wife broke it in two, and gave him but half. The famished prince greedily eyed the scanty gift, and, as it continued dripping, he thus apostrophized it: "Do you even shed tears at being thus broken by a woman's hand; so did it fare with Ráma; so did it with Bhartrĭhari; and so with Rájá Munja."

* See note K.

Having thus, for some time, been made a public spectacle, his sorrows were ended by being nailed on a cross.

Such is the reported end of MUNJA.

In the *Cumára-Pála-Charitra* (of which I have made a similar use, as of the *Bhója-Charitra*), a work of some interest, written in the twelfth century, by SAILUG SÚRI A'CHÁRYA, on the dynasties of *Pattan Nehrwala*, I found an incident related, which is deserving of notice in the paucity of historical facts and dates. It is there related, that DURLABHA of *Pattan*, who had resigned his throne to his son BHÍMA, visited MUNJA, in his way to *Gaya*, to perform pilgrimage.

Now this was precisely twelve years after the conquest of Guzzerat, by MAHMÚD of *Ghizni*, and the dethronement of its prince, CHÁÖND *Sólankí*. That event occurred in Samvat 1067, or A. D. 1011; to this add the year of DURLABHA's abdication; 1011+12=1023, A. D. or Samvat 1079.

We shall see presently how this evidence is borne out by the inscriptions; though I have others of the *Sólankí* race, to have corrected these annals, if requisite.

Another synchronism is established by the same authority. The celebrated SIDDHA RÁYA JAYA SINHA of *Pattan* conquered the *Prámára* territories, took the capital, and their prince NARA-VARMA prisoner. This is the NARA-VARMA of our inscriptions, the son of UDAYÁDITYA, and grandson of BHÓJA. JAYA SINHA, one of the most celebrated and powerful princes since the time of VICRAMÁDITYA, ruled from *Samvat* 1150, to *Samvat* 1201. Our inscription recording the grant is by the son of NARA-VARMA dated 1191.*

JAG-DÉÓ (YAJNYADÉVA) *Prámára* remained twelve years in the service of SIDDHA RÁYA. His name is proverbial throughout *Rájest'hán* for fidelity and honour; and his offering of his own head at the shrine of the Indian Proserpine or Calligenia, is well known to every *Rájaput*.

I shall now place in one point of view, the three inscriptions and their corroborations, from the *Sólankí* history. I could easily add further proof, if it were requisite. But I shall reserve inscriptions of other dynasties, the *Cháhamána*, *Grahilote*, and *Yadu-Bhatti*, for a future

* The grant bears date of Samvat 1200, confirming a prior grant in 1191.—H.T.C.

paper, in which I shall endeavour to combine the various information of this period.

AUTHORITIES.

Ujjayaní Plates.	Madhucara-ghar marble.	*Cumára-pála-charitra.*	*Bhója-charitra.*	General Result.
			1. Sindhu	1. Sindhu
	Sindhula	Durlabha S. 1079 abdicated *Pattan,* and visited Munja.	2. { Munja and Sindhula	2. { Munja † and Sindhula
	Bhója	....	3. Bhója	3. Bho'ja
Udaya' ditya	Udaya' ditya	....	....	4. Udaya'ditya
Nara-varma died A. D. 1134, S. 1190.	Nara-varma A. D. 1108 Samvat 1164.	Siddha Ra'ya Jaya Sinha reigned Samvat 1150 to 1201; took Nara-varma prisoner.	....	5. Nara-varma
Yas'óvarma,* 1191 Samvat.	....	....	....	6. Yas'óvarma

I have met with other grants of this family, in the centre of India, about the ancient city of *Bilàspur;* but it would only lead to confusion, to mix them up with this.

It would be occupying too much time further to quote from these allegorical stories of the *Bhója-Charitra,* though from the fourth and the last cantos,‡ historical facts may be extracted. They are all mere vehicles for conveying some particular doctrines, or embodying moral truths under the guise peculiar to the Eastern taste of allegory.

The fourth canto rewarded my notice, by the mere mention of the old city of *Chandràvatí,* then ruled by Chandras'éna, probably a branch of Bhója's family. The story is exactly in their taste.

A *Yógí,* one of the roaming tribe of Gymnosophists, with which India always abounded, though evidently more of the Epicurean than the Cynic, had previously been a thief, and had undergone the most disgraceful of all punishments, being exposed through the streets on an ass; by command

* See Note L. † See Note M. ‡ See Note N.

of the king, against whom he therefore vowed deadly revenge. He appears to have been a disciple of the sect, described by Gibbon,* "who converted the study of philosophy into that of magic, attempted to explore the secrets of the invisible world, claimed familiar intercourse with demons and spirits, and pretended that they possessed the secret of disengaging the soul from its corporeal prison." The *Yógí* learned this art in that grand school for magic, *Cashmira.* He could at pleasure effect this interchangeable metempsychosis. He commanded the soul of the ill-starred BHÓJA to limit its powers within the frame of a parrot, while he, so soon as he animated the frame of the prince of *Dhára,* issued his first mandate, to slay all the parrots in his dominions. The now feathered monarch took wing to the forests of *Chandrávatí,* and was caught by a *Palinda.*†

The *Bhilla* carried the bird, which retained the faculty of speech, to RÁJA CHANDRASÉNA; with whose daughter the parrot became a favourite. The captive related his metamorphosis, and by stratagem induced the *Yógí* king to come suitor for her hand: when he was slain, and BHÓJA resumed his shape and kingdom.

If any historical fact is meant under this allegory, it would probably be that an invader from the north despoiled BHÓJA of his kingdom, that he fled in disguise to the wilds, and was carried from his concealment by the wild tribes; and finally, through the daughter of CHANDRASÉNA, obtained liberty and aid to regain his kingdom. BHÓJA lived in the very period of trouble, between MAHMÚD's invasion, and the final conquest of India by SHAHÁBUDDÍN.

The last story is of a similar nature, which serves to shew the *Jaina* cosmogony; a tirade on the Rights of Sanctuary, in a dialogue between a monkey and a lion, in which the long-armed beast delivers some wholesome maxims; and a story, which is meant to shew the superior intellect of the sage VARARUCHI. These are all episodes in the adventures of DÉVA-RÁJA, and VACH-RÁJA‡ the sons of BHÓJA, who were banished at the early age of nine and seven, for being boisterous and noisy, and disturbing the old man's rest. Their first adventure is on the sea-coast, where they fall in with a merchant, and go to sea with him. Their vessel is held stationary on the

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* Vol. I. p. 182. † See Note O. ‡ See Note P.

ocean by magnetic or other attractive influence; and DÉVA-RÁJA descends into the deep to discover the cause, and finds a submarine temple, dedicated to 'ADINÁT'HA, and a second Circe, the priestess of worship.

With her he enters into conversation, and she relates a long story, of the first created A'DI NÁT'HA, the first Lord; of his two sons, BHARATA, who got the kingdom of *Bharata-Khańda* and capital *Ayódhya*, and BÁHUBALA, or "strong-armed," who wandered forth. With this the *Jaina* genealogies always commence.

For some improper familiarity, this Nereid consumes DÉVA-RÁJA to ashes; but somehow he gets translated to the abode of INDRA, who compassionately restores his shape, and sends him back to earth, and punishes the sea-nymph by giving her a terrestrial form. She finds her way to the *Prámára's* capital, and becomes the wife of BHÓJA: her name was BHÁNUMATÍ; and on her account, afterwards, the sage VARARUCHI falls into disgrace.

The sons, after much wandering, find their way back to *Dhárá*. BHÓJA receives them with affection, and gives the elder the title of *Yuvarája*, a title bestowed on those princes, who are associated to the empire and designated as successors to the throne. This was very common in ancient, and far from uncommon in modern, times. Satiety, or any one in the range of the passions, might lead to it. The dangers, they said, to eternal welfare of sovereigns, made it a common thing with them, having tasted the pleasures and pains of empire, to abdicate and to compound with Heaven in time, by pilgrimage and alms. I have heard a prince (the *Ráná* of *Udayapur*), one of the best informed and best read, say of himself and all who wore the diadem, that they were "*Naraca-ca-putra*," children of hell, for let them do what they could, they sanctioned injustice and a dire host of evils. Sickness, accordingly, to an Asiatic prince, is a holiday to all those "who extend the palm."

I need add no more from the *Charitra*, and my imperfect analysis of its contents; and here I shall conclude my remarks on the *Prámáras*.

"*Substance of an Inscription from Madhucara-ghar, in Haroutá.*

"May the form of the blue-necked God take up his abode in my bosom! and no other word pass my throat but 'blue-neck.' *

"The rays emitted from the sparkling gems, in the diadems of the heads of the earth, of each mighty crown of his race, and the flash from the emeralds encircling their breasts, fall on the lotus feet of *Rájá* SINDHULA. His enemies, the mountain † lords, he reduced to dust.

"Of his body was BHÓJA, who plundered the wives of his foe; who, to his enemies, was like fire to a forest of dried leaves. After him was *Rájá* UDAYÁDITYA; and when he set,‡ NARAVARMA arose, who by the strength of his own arms filled his coffers with the riches of victory.

"In the *Sástras*, the wisdom of the minister RUDRÁDITYA expanded like the full-blown flower: a name well known on the curtain of the earth.

"From him was born the learned MAHÁDÉVA; and from him SRI' HARA, who increased the renown of his prince, and who constructed with fair wealth a temple to SIVA, adjoining that of his prince. By this have I gained the fruits of my present form, and, with great skill, made this edifice Between the extremity of the *Dakhin* and *Udíchya dés,*§ at the abode (*st'hán*) of *Banj,*|| with my own fortune, on the eclipse of the sun,¶ I have erected this temple at the expence of one lack and a quarter of Dirbs.**

"On the full moon of *Pausha*, Samvat 1164."††

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* *Nilakánt'ha*, one of the titles of MAHA'DÉVA.

† *Gir-ísa*, the chiefs of Hill tribes.

‡ This is a play upon the name: *Asta*, setting of a planet, contrasted with *Udaya*, rise of a planet.

§ The highland, or plateau, in Central India, seems to have borne this name.—J.T.

Udíchya dés'a signifies Northern region. 'Between the extremity of the *Dacshin'a* and *Udíchya-dés'a*,' would signify midway between North and South. As an appellation, *Udíchya* is 'the country north and west of the river *Saraswati*,' emphatically termed the Northern Region. Central India is *Madhya dés'a*, the Middle Region.—H.T.C.

|| The name *Madhu-kar-garh* may have been subsequently given to it.—J.T.

¶ It does not appear from any thing here said, how long before the date of the inscription this eclipse occurred; a solar eclipse visible in India did happen in June 1108.—H.T.C.

** A very common name for an ancient coin, value unknown.—J.T.

†† A.D. 1108.—J.T.

NOTES

BY Mr. COLEBROOKE.

(A.) The translations presented to the Society by Major Tod, having been made through the medium of an interpreter, using an intermediate language, I have availed myself of the opportunity, which the original inscriptions on copper offered, for re-examining them; and translating them anew. (See following Essay.)

The copy, which Major Tod procured, of the inscription on marble at *Madhucara-ghar*, having been mislaid, there has been no opportunity of comparing with it the foregoing translation, made by him through the medium of the *Hindi* language, with the assistance of a learned native. It may be presumed, that the general scope of the inscription is correctly rendered.

(B.) *Aricésari*, in the inscription in question, is the name, not the title, of the prince: its etymology, as is intimated in Sir William Jones's translation of the inscription, is from *Ari*, foe; and *çésari*, lion: a lion, among foes.

(C.) Déva-pála-déva is the prince, named in the grant engraved on copper, found in the ruins of *Mongír*.—See As. Res. Vol. 1, p. 126. He is supposed to be the same with the *Srí* Déva-pála, named in the inscription on the pillar at Buddal. (*Ib.* p. 134.) The tribes of *Lásata*, and *Bhóta*, as well as *Hun*, are mentioned among his subjects, with the tribes of *Gaura*, *Malava*, *Carnáta*, *&c.* He was therefore sovereign of Thibet and Bootan, as well as of Hindusthan, Bengal, and the Dekhin. It was probably in Thibet that he encountered the *Huns*, and reduced them to subjection.

(D.) *Paurhá*, from the Sanscrit *prau'dha*, signifies strong; *paurháhí*, strength. *Paurusha*, from *purusha*, man, is manliness.

(E.) Or perhaps an orthodox Hindu, following the precepts of the *Véda*, which sanctions religious suicide by cremation to accelerate the attainment of bliss. Cumárila-bhatta, the great champion of orthodoxy, and insti-

gator of an exterminating persecution of heretics (*Bauddhas and Jainas*), ended his own life by committing himself to the flames. (Wilson's Sansc. Dict. Pref. p. xix.)

(F.) The epigraph of the *Bhója-prabandha*, according to most copies of it, names BALLÁLA, as the author. But, in some copies, the name of VALLABHA appears. Mr. Wilson considers both to have been by several centuries posterior to RÁJÁ BHÓJA. (Pref. to Sansc. Dict. p. viii.)

It is not altogether likely that the *Bhója-charitra* and *Bhója-prabandha* should have been works of the same author. The discrepancies are too great, to have come from the same pen.

According to the *Bhója-charitra*, MUNJA was a supposititious child, and older by five years than SINDHULA; whose father SINDHU abdicated in favour of MUNJA, after disclosing to him his supposititious birth, and recommending SINDHULA to his kindness: regardless of which, MUNJA put out SINDHULA's eyes, and afterwards practised against the life of his son, BHÓJA. But the *Bhója-prabandha* makes MUNJA to have been younger brother of SINDHULA, who abdicated in his favour, recommending his son BHÓJA to his protection. They differ as widely in many other particulars; scarcely agreeing in any point, besides the reason of MUNJA's jealousy of BHÓJA, which was an astrologer's prediction that the young prince was destined to reign, and for a very long period (55 years 7 months 3 days); the circumstance of BHÓJA's writing to the tyrant with his own blood; and the subsequent repentance and abdication of MUNJA.

The astrologer's prediction is given in precisely the same words in both works. It is the foundation on which that duration is ordinarily assigned to the reign of BHÓJA: and not improbably the tale itself is grounded upon a true tradition, that eventually such was the duration of the reign of BHÓJA.

"Fifty-five years, seven months, and three days, the southern tract, together with *Gau'da*, will be possessed by BHÓJA RÁJA."*

The number is erroneously given by Col. Wilford, quoting Col. Mackenzie, for the tradition concerning it, prevalent in the Dekhin. (As. Res. ix. 157.)

(G.) Upon a hunting excursion, as SINDHU was taking a solitary walk on the banks of a river, he found an infant lying in a clump of (*Munja*) grass.

* *Bhója charitra*, 1. 88. *Bhója-prabandha*, 6.

Pleased with the child's beauty, he took him to his wife, RETNÁVALÍ; who was no less surprised; and with his sanction, she gave out that a child was born of a concealed pregnancy; and, her bosom becoming by force of sentiment filled with milk, she suckled the infant: and he passed for the king's own son. *Bh. Ch.* 1. 14-22.

(H.) Saccharum Munja; a sort of grass, from the fibres of which, cordage is made: and especially the Brahmenical string, or triple thread worn by *Bráhmens.*

The *Bhója-charitra* assigns the same reason: *viz.* that the child was found in a clump of *Munja* grass. *Bh. Ch.* 1. 24.

He was not regularly adopted, but taken as a suppositious child. *Ib.*

(I.) When the king had left the apartment, MUNJA bethought himself that "a secret is not safe, which has been heard by six ears:" and dragging the woman from under the bed, cut off her head with his scimitar. The king, hearing the noise, returned; and seeing what had passed, reflected, that "he, who wants sensibility, will guard the prosperity of a realm; and not else." *Bh. Ch.* 1. 44-46.

(K.) *Gòcshura.* Caltrops. Tribulus lanuginosus. In India, as in ancient Europe, the implement of war, and the plant from which the idea of it was taken, bear the same name.

(L.) Add his sons: LACSHMÍ VARMA (Samvat 1200), and JAYA VARMA.

(M.) MUNJA appears to have been reigning in *Samvat* 1050: being named by the author of a poem, bearing that date. (See Preface to the Dictionary of *Amera*, p. 3.)

(N.) The *Bhója-charitra* is a poem comprising nearly sixteen hundred stanzas (exactly 1592), distributed in five cantos (*prastáva*). BHÓJA's transformation concludes the third canto: his restoration to his human body is told in the fourth.

(O.) Barbarian: speaking none but a barbaric dialect. *Am. Cósh.* 2. 10. 21. In the sequel the same individual is called a *Bhilla*. *Bh. Ch.* 599 and 607.

(P.) Written *Vach'ha-rája*, in the Society's copy of the *Bhója-charitra*. Probably the name should be *Vatsa-rája.*

XIII. *Three Grants of Land, inscribed on Copper, found at Ujjayani, and presented by Major James Tod, to the Royal Asiatic Society. Translated by Henry Thomas Colebrooke, Esq.*

Read December 4, 1824.

The translations, which accompanied the *Sanscrit* inscriptions on copper presented to the Society by Major Tod, having been made through the medium of an interpreter, I have thought it right to re-examine the originals, at the same time that I undertook the decyphering of a third inscription, likewise presented by Major Tod, but unaccompanied by a translation.

Neither of the three inscriptions in question is complete. They had originally consisted of a pair of plates in each instance: as is evident, both from the contents, and from the very appearance; for they exhibit holes, through which rings were no doubt passed to hold the plates together. In one instance, it is the last of the pair, which has been preserved. In the two others, the first of each remains, and the last has been lost. Enough, however, subsists, in these fragments of inscriptions, to render them useful historical documents; as is amply shown in the very interesting comments on them which Major Tod has communicated.

I now lay before the Society a transcript of the contents of each plate, as read by me; and copies, *fac-simile*, of the originals. My own translations follow; and notes will be found annexed.

On collating the *fac-simile* with the transcript, the learned reader will observe that errors (for engravers are not less apt, than ordinary copyists, to commit blunders) have been in several places corrected. Where the mistake and requisite correction seem quite obvious, I have in general thought it needless to add a remark. But, wherever it has appeared necessary to give a reason for an emendation, an explanatory note is subjoined.

All these inscriptions are grants of land, recorded upon copper, conformably with the usage of the Hindus, and the direction of the law, which

enjoins, that such grants should either be written upon silk, or inscribed upon copper.*

One of these grants or patents, records a donation of land made by the reigning sovereign of *Dhárá*, on the anniversary of the death of his father and predecessor, in 1191 of the *Samvat* era; confirmed by the prince his son, at the time of an eclipse of the moon, in *Srávańa* 1200 *Samvat*. It appears from calculation that a lunar eclipse did occur at the time; *viz.* on the 16th of July A.D. 1144, about 9½ P.M. apparent time, at *Ujjayani*.

This date, so authenticated, becomes a fixed point, whence the period, in which the dynasty of sovereigns of *Dhárá* flourished, may be satisfactorily computed. The series of four princes, whose names are found in these patents, two of them anterior to A.D. 1134 (1190 *Samvat*), and two of them subsequent to that date, (for the anniversary of NARA VARMA's funeral rites in 1191, determines his demise in 1190 *Samvat*;) may be taken to extend from the latter part of the eleventh century of the christian era to near the close of the twelfth. It is carried retrospectively, through a line of three more princes, to SINDHU grandfather of *Rájá* BHÓJA, by the marble at *Madhucara-ghar*, and other evidence; as shown by Major Tod.

The earliest of the three patents inscribed upon copper, which were procured by Major Tod at *Ujjayani*, bears the date of 3d *Mágha sudi* 1192 *Samvat*, answering to January A.D. 1137. It has the signature of YAS'Ó-VARMA DÉVA, who, in the preceding year, 1191 *Samvat*, had made a donation of land on the anniversary of the demise of his father NARA VARMA DÉVA, which was confirmed (apparently in YASÓVARMA's life-time), by his son LACSHMÍ VARMA DÉVA, in 1200 *Samvat*: as above noticed. The latest of the three grants is by his successor JAYA VARMA DÉVA, and, being incomplete, exhibits no date. Both these patents agree in deducing the line of succession from UDAYÁDITYA DÉVA, predecessor of NARA VARMA. There is consequently this series perfectly authenticated:

UDAYÁDITYA DÉVA
|
NARA VARMA DÉVA
|
YAS'Ó VARMA DÉVA
/ \
JAYA VARMA DÉVA. LACSHMÍ VARMA DÉVA.

* Digest of Hindu Law, 2. 278. As. Res. 2. 50.

No. I.

A Grant of Land inscribed on Copper, found at Ujjayani.

'Om! Well be it! Auspicious victory and elevation.(1)

Victorious is he, whose hair is the etherial expanse;(2) who, for creation, supports with his head that lunar line (3) which is a type of the germ in the seed of the universe.

May the matted locks of love's foe,(4) reddened by the lightning's ring that flashes at the period of the world's end, spread for you nightless (5) prosperity.

The great prince,(6) resplendent with the decoration of five great titles (7) with which he is thoroughly and excellently embued and possessed, the fortunate Lacshmí varma déva, son (8) of his Majesty,(9) the great king, sovereign,(9) and supreme lord, the fortunate Yaśó varma déva, son (8) of (9) Nara varma déva, son (8) of (9) Udayáditya déva, acquaints the *Pat't'acila* (10) and people, *Bráhmańas* and others, inhabiting *Ba'däuda-gráma* (11), dependant on *Surásan'í,* and *Ut'havan'aca-gráma* (12) appertaining to *Téptá-suvarn'a-práśádicá,* (13) both situated in the twelve great districts (14) held by royal patent; be it known unto you: Whereas, at the fortunate *Dhára,* (15) the great king, sovereign, supreme lord, the fortunate Yaśó varma déva, upon the anniversary (16) of the great king, the fortunate Nara varma déva, which took place on the 8th of *Cártica sudi,* years eleven hundred and ninety-one elapsed since *Vicrama,* having bathed with waters of holy places, having satisfied gods, saints, men and ancestors with oblations,(17) having worshipped the holy Bhawáńípati,(18) having sacrificed to fire offerings of *samí,* sacrificial grass, sesamum and boiled rice,(19) having presented an *arghya* (20) to the sun, having thrice perambulated *Capilá,*(21) seeing the vanity of the world, deeming life a tremulous drop of water on the leaf of a lotus, and reckoning wealth despicable:—As it is said:

This sovereignty of the earth totters with the stormy blast;(22) the enjoyment of a realm is sweet but for an instant; the breath of man is like a drop on the tip of a blade of grass: virtue is the greatest friend in the journey of the other world.—

Considering this, did grant by patent, preceded by gift of water,(23) for as long as the sun and moon shall endure, unto the *A'vasat'hica* (24) the fortunate Vana pála, son of the fortunate Vis'warúpa, grandson of the fortunate Mahira (25) swámi, a venerable *Bráhmańa* of *Carńáta* in the south, who studies two *védas* (26) and appertains to the *As'waláyana* (27) *śác'há,*

sprung from the race of Bháradwája,(28) and tracing a triple line of descent, *Bháradwája, A'ngirasa,* and *Várhaspatya,* (29) settled at *Adrélavaddhávarist'hána,*(30) the aforesaid *Badaüda-gráma* and *Ut'havańaca gráma,* with their trees, fields and habitations,(31) together with hidden treasure, and deposits, and adorned with ponds, wells and lakes.

On the 15th of *Srávańa sudi* in the year 1200, at the time of an eclipse of the moon,(32) for our father's welfare, we have again granted those two villages by patent with the previous gift of water;(23) therefore all inhabitants of both villages, as well the *Pat't'acila* (10) and other people, as husbandmen, being strictly observant of his commands, must pay unto him all dues as they arise, tax, money-rent, share of produce,(33) and the rest.

Considering the fruit of this meritorious act as common, future princes, sprung of our race, and others, should respect and maintain this virtuous donation accordingly. (34)

By many kings, Sagara as well as others, the earth has been possessed. Whose-soever has been the land, his has then been the fruit.(35)

He, who resumes land, whether given by himself, or granted by others, is regenerated a worm in ordure, for 60,000 years.(36)

Rámabhadra again and again exhorts all these future rulers of the earth: this universal bridge of virtue....................(37)

(The remainder, upon another plate, is wanting.)

No. 2.

A Grant of Land, inscribed on Copper, found at Ujjayani.

'Om! Well be it! Auspicious victory and elevation!

Virtuous is he, whose hair is the etherial expanse;(2) who, for creation, supports with his head that lunar line (3) which is a type of the germ contained in the seed of the universe.

May the matted locks of love's foe,(4) reddened by the lightning's ring, that flashes at the period of the world's end, spread for you nightless (5) prosperity.(38)

From his abode at the auspicious *Bardhamánapura,* his Majesty,(9) the great king, sovereign,(9) and supreme lord, the fortunate Jaya varma déva, whom victory attends, son(8) of (9) Yas'ó varma déva, son (8) of (9) Nara varma déva, son (8) of (9) Udayáditya déva, acquaints all king's officers, *Bráhmańas* and others, and the *Pat't'acila* (10) and people, &c. inhabiting the

village of *Máyamó'daca* which appertains to the thirty-six villages of *Vat'a* :(39) Be it known unto you: Whereas we, sojourning at *Chandrapurí*, having bathed, having worshipped the holy, beneficent and adorable BHAWÁNÍPATI :— (18)

Considering the world's vanity:

for

This sovereignty of the earth totters with the stormy blast; (22) the enjoyment of a realm is sweet but for an instant; the breath of man is like a drop of water on the tip of a blade of grass: virtue is the greatest friend in the journey of the other world.—

Having gained prosperity, which is the receptacle of the skips and bounds (40) of a revolving world, whoever give not donations, repentance is their chief reward.—

Reflecting on the perishable nature of the world, preferring unseen (spiritual) fruit, [do grant] to be fully possessed, so long as moon and sun, sea and earth, endure [unto.........sprung from the race] of *Bháradwája* (41) ....settled at *Adriya-lambi-dávarí-st'hána*, situated within the southern region, at *Rája brahma purí*........................

(The remainder, inscribed on a separate plate, is wanting.)

No. 3.

A Grant of Land inscribed on Copper, found at Ujjayani.

(The beginning, inscribed upon another plate, is wanting.)

In respect of two portions (42) of *Bráhmaña's* allowance, by exchange for two portions allotted to the attendant of the temple and the reader, to be held as assigned for the anniversary of the auspicious MÓMALA DÉVÍ; (43) and in respect of seventeen *nivartanas* (45) of land, with eleven ploughs (45) of land, assigned to both persons in a partition of *Vícaricá gráma*; the whole of the aforesaid little *Vaingañapadra-gráma*, also a moiety of *Viccaricá gráma* (44) within the proper bounds, extending to the grass and pasture, with trees, fields and habitations, with money-rent, and share of produce, (33) with superior taxes, and including all dues; for increase of merit and fame of my mother, of my father, and of myself, are granted by patent, with the previous gift of water. (23) Aware of this, and obedient to his commands,

they must pay all due share of produce, (33) taxes, money-rent, &c. to them both.

Considering the fruit of this meritorious act as common, future princes, sprung of our race, and others, should respect and maintain this virtuous donation, as by us given.(34)

And it is said,—By many Kings, SAGARA as well as others, the earth has been possessed. Whose-soever has been the land, his has then been the fruit.(35)

The gifts, which have been here granted by former princes, producing virtue, wealth and fame, are unsullied reflections. What honest man would resume them?

This donation ought to be approved by those who exemplify the hereditary liberality of our race, and by others. The flash of lightning from *Lacshmí* swoln with the rain-drop,(46) is gift; and the fruit is preservation of another's fame.

RÁMABHADRA again and again exhorts all those future rulers of the earth: this universal bridge of virtue for princes is to be preserved by you from time to time.(37)

Considering therefore prosperity to be a quivering drop of water on the leaf of a lotus; and the life of man is such; and all this is many ways (47) exemplified; men therefore should not abridge the fame of others.

Samvat 1192, 3d of *Mágha sudi* (light half); witness the venerable *Puróhita*, VÁMANA; the venerable *Swámí*, PURUSHÓTTAMA; the prime minister and king's son, DÉVADHARA; and others.

Auspiciousness and great prosperity.

R.

This is the sign-manual of the fortunate YAS'ÓVARMA DÉVA.

Adhi. *Srí.*

NOTES.

(1) Both this and the following inscription begin alike, and contain several other parallel passages. There are gross errors in both ; but one has helped to correct the other.

(2) *Vyómacésa*, a title of *S'iva*, whose hair is the atmosphere.

(3) The crescent, which is *S'iva's* crest.

(4) *Smarárdti*, a title of *S'iva*. He is represented with his hair clotted and matted in a long braid rolled round his head, in the manner in which ascetics wear their's. Hair in that state has a tawny hue.

(5) Nightless, endless : eternal.

(6) *Mahá-cumára* : a royal youth, a young prince.

(7) I am not entirely confident of the meaning of this passage.

(8) *Pádánud'hyáta*, an ordinary periphrasis for son and successor : literally, " whose feet are meditated, *i. e.* revered, by ......"

(9) The additions are those usually borne by sovereign princes among the *Hindus*. *Bhat't'áraca* answers to the title of majesty. *Ad'hirája* is a sovereign or superior prince. *S'rí*, signifying fortunate or auspicious, is prefixed to every name.

Varman is the customary designation of a *Rájaputra* ; as *S'arman* is of a *Bráhmana*. The term enters into composition in the names of many of this family.

(10) *Pat't'acila* is probably the *Pat't'äil* of the moderns. The term occurs again lower down ; and also in the next grant (No. 2).

(11) Pronounce *Baräud-grám*. *Surásaní* appears to be the district, or province, in which it is situated.

(12) Perhaps *Ughavan* rather than *Ut'havan*.

(13) This seems to be the name of a district.

(14) An apanage, comprising twelve great districts. *Mahá-dwádaśacamańdala*, seems to have been held by this prince, under a royal grant from his father. He did not become his successor : for JAYA VARMA is, in another inscription, named immediately after YAS'Ó VARMA ; and was reigning sovereign.

(15) *Dhárá* was the capital of this dynasty.

(16) Anniversary of the death. It appears, therefore, that NARA VARMA died in 1190 *Samvat*.

(17) The allusion is to the five great sacraments, which a Hindu is bound to perform.—See *Menu*, iii, 67.

(18) *Bhawánípati* is a title of *S'iva*, husband of *Bhawání*. In the following inscription, the name again occurs in a similar manner, with the further designation of *Varávara-guru*.

(19) The *áhuti*, or burnt-offering; consisting of boiled rice, with *tila* (Sesamum orientale), *cuśa* (Poa cynosuroides), and *śamí* (Adenanthera, or Prosopis aculeata).

(20) An *arghya* is a libation or oblation, in a conch, or vessel of a particular form, approaching to that of a boat.—*As. Res.* vii, 291.

(21) *Capilá* probably is fire, personified as a female goddess.

(22) *Abhra* is a cloud; and *Váta*, wind: whence *Vátábhra*, a windy cloud. Or *abhra* may signify the etherial fluid *(ácása)*. The stanza is repeated in the next inscription.

(23) A requisite formality in a donation of land.—See *Digest of Hindu Law*, ii, 276. *Treatises on Law of Inheritance*, p. 258.

(24) Erroneously written *A'vast'hica* in the text. Its derivation is from *A'vasat'ha*, a house: and it bears reference to the householder's consecrated fire (*gárhapatya*). HELÁYUD'HA, author of the *Bráhmaṅa-sarvaswa*, has, in the epigraph of his work, the title of *A'vasat'hica-mahá-d'harmád'hyacsha*.

(25) This probably should be *Mihira*, which is a name of the sun.

(26) *Dwivid* is one who studies two *védas;* as *Trivid*, one who studies three.

(27) The text exhibits *A'śláyana;* doubtless for *A'śwaláyana*, by which name one of the *S'ác'hás* of the *véda* is distinguished. A'S'WALÁYANA is author of a collection of aphorisms on religious rites (*Calpa sútra*).

(28) *Gótra*, descent from an ancient sage (*Rishi*), whence the family name is derived. There are four such great families of *Bráhmaṅas;* comprehending numerous divisions.

(29) *Pravara*, lineage traced to more of the ancient sages. The distinction between *Gótra* and *Pravara* is not very clear. MÁDHAVA on the *Mímánsá*, 2. 1, 9, names these very three families as constituting a *Gótra;* and gives it as an example of *Pravara*.

(30) This, which seems to be the name of a country, is differently written in the next inscription. Perhaps it may be a branch of the *gótra*, or family, from which the donatory derived his descent.

(31) *Mála*, signifies field; and *Cula*, abode. The passage may admit a different interpretation.

Mála implies, (as I learn from Major Tod), according to the acceptation of the country, land not artificially irrigated, but watered only by rain and dew.

(32) An eclipse of the moon appears, from calculation, to have taken place at the time here assigned to it: *viz.* 16th July 1144; as in the preceding year, 28th July 1143.—*Art de vérifier les Dates*, i, 73.

(33) *Hirańya*, gold: rent in money.

Bhága bhóga; in another place, *bhágábhóga*: share of produce, rent in kind.

(34) This stanza, a little varied, recurs in the third grant (No. 3).

(35) This also recurs in the same (No. 3); and is likewise found in a grant translated by Sir William Jones.—*As. Res.* vol. i, p. 365, st. 1.

(36) A quotation.—See *Digest of Hindu Law*, ii, 281, and *As. Res.* ii, 53. Also, i, 366; and viii, 419.

(37) The remainder of the stanza (which may be easily supplied from the other inscriptions: See the next grant; and *As. Res.* vol. i. p. 365, st. 3, and vol. iii. p. 53, and vol. viii. p. 419) was probably followed in the second plate, by further quotations, deprecating the resumption of the gift by future sovereigns: and to which was subjoined the sign manual, with the names of attesting officers; as in the accompanying grant by YAS'O VARMA (No. 3).

The bridge of virtue, which signifies "the maxim of duty," bears an allusion to RÁMA's bridge, to cross the sea to *Lancá*.

(38) These two stanzas occur also in the preceding inscription.

(39) *Vat'a-c'hédaca-shat'-trinsati*; thirty-six villages of *Vat'a*: for it should probably be read *C'hétaca* (which signifies a village) instead of *C'hédaca*.

(40) *Valgágra-d'hárá-d'hárá*: an allusion is probably intended to *D'hárá*, the seat of government of this dynasty. *Valga* signifies a leap; and *d'hára*, a horse's pace.

(41) The grantee was either the same person, or one of the same family, as in the preceding grant; for the designations are identical, so far as this reaches.

(42) For want of the first plate of this patent, the beginning of the second is very obscure; and perhaps not rightly intelligible, without divining what has gone before. I have endeavoured to make sense of it, but am far from confident of having succeeded.

(43) MÓMALA DÉVÍ was not improbably the name of YAS'Ó VARMA's mother;

and the anniversary is that of her obsequies: as in the preceding patent for a grant on the anniversary of the obsequies of Yasó varma's father. Else it may be the annual festival of an idol of that name.

(44) The name is written *Vícaricagráma* in one place; and *Viccaricagráma* in another.

Major Tod observes that the ancient name of *Burhánpura* is *Carigráma.*

(45) *Nivartana* is a land-measure containing 400 square poles of 10 cubits each, according to the *Lílávatí.*—See *Algebra of the* Hindus.

(46) I have here hazarded a conjectural emendation; being unable to make sense of the text, as it stands. Perhaps the transcriber had erroneously written *tundalá* for *tundilá;* and the engraver, by mistake, transformed it into the unmeaning *vandalá,* which the text exhibits. *Lacshmí* is here characterized as the thunder-cloud pregnant with fertilizing rain.

(47) *Chanudhá,* in the text, is an evident mistake; it should undoubtedly be *bahudhá.* Several other gross errors in this inscription have been corrected; too obviously necessary to require special notice: as a short vowel for a long one, and *vice versâ.*

XIV. *Some Account of a Secret Association in China, entitled the Triad Society. By the late Dr. Milne, Principal of the Anglo-Chinese College. Communicated by the Rev. Robert Morrison, D.D., F.R.S., M.R.A.S.*

Read February 5, 1825.

The writer of this paper is fully sensible how difficult it is to discover that which is studiously concealed, under the sanction of oaths, curses, and the (supposed) impending vengeance of the gods; and how liable one is, even after the utmost care, to be mistaken in tracing the progress of any set of principles and schemes, which the fortunes or lives of the parties who have adopted them are concerned to hide, to varnish, to distort, and to misrepresent. He therefore offers the following remarks, not as the result of firm and unhesitating conviction, but as having a good deal of probability to support them, and as containing the substance of the best information procurable in his situation. He begs then to say a few words on the name, objects, government, initiatory ceremonies, secret signs, and seal of the said association, and to conclude with a few miscellaneous remarks.

First, *the Name.*

The name is not expressed on the seal, and hence it is difficult to ascertain it with certainty. It seems, however, to be the * *San hŏ hwuy*, i. e. "The Society of the Three united, or the Triad Society." The three referred to in this name are † *T'heen, te, jin*, i. e. "Heaven, Earth, and Man," which are the three great powers in nature, according to the Chinese doctrine of the universe. In the earlier part of the reign of his late Chinese majesty, ‡ *Kea King*, the same society existed, but under a different denomination. It was then called the § *T'heen te hwuy*, i. e. "The Cœlesto-terrestrial Society," or "The Society that unites Heaven and Earth." It spread itself rapidly through the provinces, had nearly upset the government, and

* For the Chinese characters, see Plate I, No. 1.
† See plate, No. 2.
‡ See plate, No. 3.
§ See plate, No. 4.

its machinations were not entirely defeated till about the eighth year of the said Emperor's reign, when the chiefs were seized and put to death; and it was (in the usual bombast of Chinese reports) officially stated to his majesty, "that there was not so much as one member of that rebellious fraternity left under the wide extent of the heavens." The fact, however, was just the contrary, for they still existed, and operated, though more secretly; and it is said, that a few years after they assumed the name of the "Triad Society," in order to cover their purposes. But the name, by which they chiefly distinguish themselves, is * *Hung kea*, i. e. the "Flood Family."

There are other associations formed both in China and in the Chinese colonies that are settled abroad, as the † *T'heen how hwuy*, i. e. the "Queen of Heaven's Company, or Society;" called also, the ‡ *Neang ma hwuy*, or "Her Ladyship's Society;" meaning the "queen of heaven, the mother and nurse of all things." These associations are rather for commercial and idolatrous purposes, than for the overthrow of social order; though it is said, that the members of the "Queen of Heaven's Society," settled in Bengal and other parts, unite in house-breaking, &c.

Secondly, *Object.*

The object of this society at first does not appear to have been peculiarly hurtful; but, as numbers increased, the object degenerated from mere mutual assistance, to theft, robbery, the overthrow of regular government, and an aim at political power. In foreign colonies, the objects of this association are plunder, and mutual defence. The idle, gambling, opium-smoking Chinese (particularly of the lower classes), frequently belong to this fraternity. What they obtain by theft or plunder is divided in shares, according to the rank which the members hold in the society. They engage to defend each other against attacks from police officers; to hide each others crimes; to assist detected members to make their escape from the hands of justice. A Chinese tailor in Malacca, named *Tsaou foo*, who committed murder, in the close of 1818, shortly after the transfer of the colony, and made his escape from the hands of justice, was a chief man in this society; and, it is believed, had a considerable number of persons under his direction, both on

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* See plate, No. 5. † See plate, No. 6. ‡ See plate, No. 7.

the land and at sea. There cannot be a doubt but his escape was partly owing to the assistance of his fellow-members, as a rigorous search was made for him by the police. In places where most of the members are young, if one takes a dislike to any man who is not a member, the others are sure to mark that man as the butt of their scorn and ridicule. If any one feels injured, the others take part in his quarrels, and assist him in seeking revenge. Where their party is very strong, persons are glad to give them sums of money annually, that they may spare their property, or protect it from other banditti, which they uniformly do when confided in, and will speedily recover stolen goods. In such places as Java, Sincapore, Malacca, and Penang, when a Chinese stranger arrives to reside for any length of time, he is generally glad to give a trifle of money to this brotherhood to be freed from their annoyance.

The *professed* design, however, of the *San hŏ hwuy* is benevolence, as the following motto will shew:

* Yew fŭh tung heang
Yew ho tung tang.
The blessing, reciprocally share;
The woe, reciprocally bear.

They assist each other, in whatever country, whenever they can make themselves known to each other by the signs.

Thirdly, *Government*.

The government (if it be proper to dignify the management of so worthless a combination by such an epithet) of the *San-hŏ-hwuy*, is vested in three persons, who are all denominated † *Ko*, " Elder brothers," a name given by way of courtesy to friends; in the same manner as Free-Masons style each other brothers and brethren, and as certain religious societies call their members brethren, and say " Brother " so and so. They distinguish between the ruling brethren thus:—‡ *Yih ko; Urh ko; San ko:* i. e. " Brother first; Brother second; Brother third." There may be others who take part in the management, where the society's members are numerous. The members generally are called § *Heung tê*, i. e. " Brethren."

* See plate, No. 8. † See plate, No. 9. ‡ See plate, No. 10. § See plate, No. 11.

Of the laws, discipline, and interior management of the *San-hŏ-hwuy*, the writer of this has not been able to obtain any information. There is said to be a MS. book, containing the society's regulations, written on *cloth*, for the sake of preserving the writing long in a legible state. Should a detection be made, the cloth MS. may, for the time, be thrown into a well or pond, from which it can afterwards at convenience be taken out; and in case of the person, in whose care it is, being pursued by the police, and obliged to swim across a river, &c. he carries the MS. with him; and as the ink appears to possess a peculiar quality, the impression in either case is quite legible. As they cannot print their regulations, this seems well calculated to preserve them from oblivion.

The heads of this fraternity, as in all other similar associations, have a larger share of all the booty that is procured, than the other members.

Fourthly, *Initiatory Ceremonies.*

Of these but a very imperfect idea can be obtained. The initiation takes place commonly at night, in a very retired or secret chamber. There is an idol there, to which offerings are presented, and before which the oath of secresy is taken. The Chinese say there are * *San shih lŭh s'he, i. e.* "thirty-six oaths" taken on the occasion; but it is probable that, instead of being distinct oaths, these are different particulars of one oath, very likely the *imprecations* contained in it, against persons who shall disclose the nature and objects of the society.

A small sum of money is given by the initiated to support the general expense. There is likewise a ceremony which they call † *Kwo Keaou, i. e.* "crossing the bridge." This bridge is formed of swords, either laid between two tables (an end resting on each), or else set up on the hilts, and meeting at the point; or held up in the hands of two ranks of members, with the points meeting, in form of an arch. The persons who receive the oath, take it under this bridge, which is called—"passing, or crossing the bridge." The *yih ko*, or chief ruling brother, sits at the head of this steel bridge (or each with a drawn sword), reads the articles of the oath, to every one of which an affirmative response is given by the new member, after

* See Plate I, No. 12. † See Plate I, No. 13.

which he cuts off the head of a cock, which is the usual form of a Chinese oath, intimating—" thus let perish all who divulge the secret." But it is said the grand ceremony can only be performed where there is a considerable number of members present. They worship Heaven and Earth on those occasions, and sometimes, when the place is sufficiently secluded, perform the initiatory rites in the open air.

Fifthly, *Secret Signs.*

Some of the marks by which the members of the *San hŏ hwuy* make themselves known to each other, are those that follow:—Mystic numbers; the chief of which is the number *three*. They derive their preference for this probably from the name of their society, "the Triad Society." In conformity with this preference they adopt *odd* rather than *even* numbers, when it can be done. They say *three*, *three* times ten, *three* hundred, *three* thousand, *three* myriads, rather than *two*, *four* times ten, &c.

The word * *Hung*, above-mentioned, contains the number *three hundred and twenty-one*, and is often used by them for particular purposes. They separate its component parts thus: † *san—păh—urh-shih—yih*. The character *San* is properly a form of ‡ *shwuy* (water), as used in composition, and should have this sound; but in the analysis of any Chinese character, of which this form of *shwuy* constitutes the dexter component, the teacher says to his pupil, § *san-teen shwuy*, *i. e.* put " three points water at the side," or " the three point form of *shwuy*." But when used by the *san hŏ hwuy*, the word *san* (or three) alone is employed; the other parts being out of place for them. ‖ *Pă*, or eight, much resembles in sound ¶ *pih* (an hundred), and in a rapid conversation is scarely distinguishable from it. ** *Urh-shih* is the united or mercantile form of †† *urh shĭh*, or " two tens" run together for the sake of expedition in business. ‡‡ *Yih* is the common form of one. Now hearing the component parts of *Hung* gone over in this manner, it seems to the uninitiated to mean §§ *san pih urh shĭh yih*, " *three hundred and twenty-one*." What the members themselves mean by it, it is impossible

* See Plate I, No. 14. † See Plate I, No. 15. ‡ See Plate I, No. 16. § See Plate I, No. 17.
‖ See Plate I, No. 18. ¶ See Plate I, No. 19. ** See Plate I, No. 20.
†† See Plate I, No. 21. ‡‡ See Plate I, No. 22. §§ See Plate I, No. 23.

to discover. In *writing*, it is as above analyzed; or in uttering the *sound* of the components, they equally understand each other's meaning.

Certain motions of the fingers constitute a second class of *signs; e.g.* using *three* of the fingers in taking up any thing. If a member happens to be in company, and wishes to discover whether there be a brother present, he takes up his *tea-cup* or its *cover* (Chinese tea-cups have always a cover), with the *thumb*, the *fore*, and *middle fingers*, or with the *fore*, *middle*, and *third* fingers, and which, if perceived by an initiated person, is answered by a corresponding sign. It does not, however, follow from this that every Chinese who uses three fingers, in taking up, or holding, his tea-cup, is a member of the *san hŏ hwuy*, for many of them do it from mere habit. But there is a *certain way* of doing it by the initiated, which they themselves only know. In lifting any thing that requires both hands, they use three fingers of each hand.

They also have recourse to *odes and pieces of poetry*, as secret marks.—(See below, under Particular 6th, " Explanation of Characters within the first Octangular lines.)

Sixth, *the Seal.*

The seal is a *quinquangular* figure: this, as above noticed, is one of the Society's mystical numbers. From the manner in which some characters on the seal were written, it is not improbable that some of them have been erroneously explained. The following is submitted as the best explanation of them which the writer's present circumstances enable him to furnish.*

Explanation of the Characters at the five corners, in the outer, or quinquangular lines.

1. *Tóo*, the earth planet, *i. e. Saturn;* which, according to the Chinese, especially regards and influences the *centre* of the earth; also one of the five elements.

2. *Mŭh*, the wood planet, *i. e. Jupiter*, or that planet which reigns in the eastern part of the heavens.

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* For an engraving of the seal, see Plate II, No. 1.

3. *Shwuy*, the water planet, *i e. Mercury*, to which the dominion of the northern hemisphere is confided.

4. *Kin*, the metal planet, *i. e. Venus*, to which the care of the west is confided.

5. *Ho*, the fire planet, *i. e. Mars*, to which the southern hemisphere is assigned.

N.B. The reasons (or some of the reasons) why these planets are placed at the corners of this *seal*, may be, because they are the basis of Chinese astrological science, and because they are considered the extreme points of all created things.

Explanation of the five Characters which are directly under the Planets.

6. *Hung*, a flood or deluge of waters. One of the secret designations of this fraternity is *Hung kea*, literally, "*the flood family*;" intended, perhaps, to intimate the extent and effectiveness of their operations, that, as a flood, they spread and carry every thing before them.

7. *Haou*, a leader; a chief or brave man.

8. *Han*, the name of an ancient dynasty; but, in certain connections, signifying a bold and daring man, which is most probably the sense here.

9. *Ying*, a hero.

10. *Kea*, a stand; but metaphorically used to denote a person of importance to the state, or to society, as we use tropes, and say, "such man is a pillar," "the stay of his country."

N.B. Though this be the ordinary meaning of these words, it is possible that they may be used by the fraternity in a mystical and occult sense.

Explanation of the other Characters within the same lines.

11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17. *Ying, heung, hwuy, hŏ, twan, yuen, she.*
18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24. *Heung, te, fun, kae, yih, show, she.*

"The hero band in full assembly meet;
"Each man a verse, to make the ode complete."

This is a very probable sense of the words as they are placed, especially as it is known to be a frequent practice of this fraternity to converse together in poetry; and in order to elude suspicion while in company with others,

ne man takes but a line, or half a line, which by itself is utterly uninte-gible to persons not initiated, but which, being understood by a broth-ember, is responded to by him in another line or half a line, and, by thi assing on through several persons, an ode may be completed, though n erceived by any but the parties themselves.

25, 26, 27. *Kĕe te tuy.* These three words are inexplicable in the ord which they stand. *Kĕe* signifies to tie, to bind, and often used to signi e formation of a secret association. *Te* (if we be right in the characte gnifies a brother, or younger brother, and the sense thus far would be- *to form a brotherhood.*" *Tuy*, is a pair of any thing, or two things equ each other. But it is probable that these words have a reference to oth ords on the seal, the connection of which seems difficult to discover.

Explanation of Words within the first octangular lines.

28, 29, 30, 31. *Heüng te tung chin,*
32, 33, 34, 35. *Kŏ yeu haou tow ;*
36, 37, 38, 39. *Kaou k'e fun pae ;*
40, 41, 42, 43. *Wan koo yeu chuen.*

Vhich may be thus rendered :—

The Brethren all in battle join,
Each ready with a chosen sign ;
An ancient brook with parting streams,
Still flowing down from long-past times.

In support of this version it might be urged, that the fraternity hav rtain secret signs or marks, by which they make their ideas known to eac her, and in the tumult which they excite, these signs are made use of t courage each other in the work of destruction ; and that they conside eir society as of very ancient origin, and as spreading through the worl om age to age.

But the words may be read in lines of eight or seven syllables, and migh gin at the 32d, thus :—

Kŏ yew haou tów kaou k'e fun,
Kaou ke fun pae wan koo yew.

N.B. This last line shifts back to 36 for its first syllable.

In fact, there appears scarcely to be a limit to the mutations of these numbers; for, like the changes of the *pă kwa* (Chinese table of diagrams), they may contain an infinitude of senses and modifications, with which, however, the initiated alone are familiar.

Explanation of Characters within the second octangular lines.

44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50. These characters, as they stand, seem to make no intelligible sense, and from the circumstance of their being written with two kinds of ink, black and red, renders it highly probable that they are constructed for the purpose of local concealment; they are perhaps the names, real or assumed, of the officers of the brotherhood; that half of the characters in *red* ink, which seems printed, may be permanent, and have some general reference to the designs of the society, and to the other characters on the seal; while the *yellow* part (on the original blue silk seal), which is evidently *written* with a pencil, may, joined to the printed half, constitute the names or epithets of the officers in some particular place. In another place, where persons of different designations are chosen to be officers, the yellow part would be different. This conjecture is confirmed by the opinion of several learned Chinese, who have seen and examined the seal.

51, 52, 53, 54. These characters have, no doubt, a reference to the ultimate view of the brotherhood, *viz.* universal extension and dominion. 51 is an inverted form of 53; and 53 is an abbreviated form of * *wan,* a myriad. 52 (in the quinquangular lines) signifies "*Heaven,*" and 54, "*Earth.*" And the position of 54 and 53, both looking towards the straight line on which the words "Heaven" and "Earth" are written, may mystically signify the bringing of myriads of nations under the society's influence.

Explanation of Characters within the square lines.

55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60. *Chung e foo, wo chŭh tung,* i.e. "*Let the faithful and righteous unite so as to form a whole*" (*i. e.* an universal empire). This seems the plain sense of the words, according to this arrangement of them;

* See Plate II, No. 2.

but it is impossible to ascertain whether something else may not be intended, as they are susceptible of as many meanings as arrangements. This version, however, agrees with the general views of this dangerous fraternity.

Characters within the oblong square.

61, 62. *Yun shing*; supposed to be the name of the *chief* of the fraternity, some think the *founder*, but, the character being *written*, and in *yellow* ink, it is more likely to be the chief for the time being, at whose death the blank space in seals subsequently issued could be filled up with the name of his successors; whereas the name of the founder, never changing, would be more likely to be printed, in some permanent form.

MISCELLANEOUS REMARKS.

If any weight be due to the scattered hints that have been given above, there will appear to be a striking resemblance in some points between the *San hŏ hwuy*, and the *Society of Free-Masons*. The writer would not be understood, by so saying, to trace this resemblance in any of the *dangerous* principles of the *San hŏ hwuy*, for he believes that the Society of British Free-masons (and of others he knows nothing) constitutes a highly respectable body of men, whose principles and conduct are friendly to social order, regular government, and the peace of society. The points of resemblance, then, between the two societies, appear to the writer to be the following:—

1. In their pretensions to great antiquity, the *San hŏ hwuy* profess to carry their origin back to the remotest antiquity. * *Tsze yeu chung Kwo*, *i. e.* "from the first settlement of China;" and their former name, *viz.*—"*Cœlesto-terrestrial Society*," may indicate that the body took its rise from the creation of heaven and earth; and it is known that some Free-masons affirm that their society "had a being ever since symmetry and harmony began," though others are more moderate in their pretensions to antiquity.

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* See Plate II, No. 3.

2. *In making benevolence and mutual assistance their professed object, and in affording mutual assistance to each other, in whatever country, when the signs are once given.* Notwithstanding the dangerous nature of the *San hŏ hwuy,* the members swear, at their initiation, to be filial and fraternal and benevolent, which corresponds to the engagement of the Free-masons, to philanthropy and the social virtues.

3. *In the ceremonies of initiation, e.g.* the oath, and the solemnity of its administration, in the *arch of steel* and *bridge of swords.* These are so singularly striking, that they merit the attention of those especially who think Free-masonry a beneficial institution, or who deem its history worthy of investigation.

4. May not the three ruling brethren of the *San hŏ hwuy* be considered as having a resemblance to the three masonic orders of apprentice, fellow-craft, and master?

5. The signs, particularly "*the motions with the fingers,*" in as far as they are known or conjectured, seem to have some resemblance.

6. Some have affirmed that the grand secret of Free-masonry consists in the words "Liberty and Equality;" and if so, certainly the term * *Heung Te,* (*i.e.* "brethren") of the *San hŏ hwuy* may, without the least force, be explained as implying exactly the same ideas.

Whether there exist any thing in the shape of "Lodges" in the *San hŏ hwuy,* or not, the writer has no means of ascertaining; but he believes the Chinese law is so rigorous against this body, as to admit of none.† Nor does there appear to be a partiality among the members for the *masonic employment.* Building does not appear to be an object with them, at least not in as far as can be discovered.

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* See Plate II, No. 4.

† To belong to this Society is, in China, a *capital* crime.

The late Dr. Milne sent these notices of this Triad Society to China, for further investigation, in July, 1821, and died on the 2d of June, 1822: and hence the paper was left in its present unfinished state.—*Note by Dr. Morrison.*

XV. *A short Account of the Sauds. By William Henry Trant, Esq., M.P.*

Read February 5, 1825.

In March 1816, I went with two other gentlemen from *Fatahghar*, on the invitation of the principal persons of the *Saud* sect, to witness an assemblage of them, for the purpose of religious worship, in the city of *Farrukhábád*, the general meeting of the sect for that year being there.

The assembly took place within the court-yard of a large house, where the number of men, women, and children was considerable.

We were received with great attention; and chairs were placed for us in front of the hall. After some time, when the place was quite full of people, the ceremony commenced, which consisted simply in the chaunting of a hymn; this being the only mode of public worship used by the *Sauds*.

At subsequent periods I made particular enquiries relative to the religious opinions and practices of this sect, and I was frequently visited by Bhawání Dás, the principal person of the sect in the city of *Farrukhábád*.

The following is the substance of the account given by Bhawání Dás of the origin of this sect.

" About the year 1600 of the era of Vicramáditya, corresponding with A.D. 1544, a person named Bírbhán, inhabitant of *Bíjasír*, near *Narnoul*, in the province of *Delhi*, received a miraculous communication from Udaya Dás, teaching him the particulars of the religion now professed by the *Sauds*. Udaya Dás, at the same time, gave to Bírbhán marks by which he might know him on his re-appearance.

" 1. That whatever he foretold, should happen.

" 2. That no shadow should be cast from his figure.

" 3. That he would tell him his thoughts.

" 4. That he would be suspended between heaven and earth.

" 5. That he would bring the dead to life."

Bháwáni Dás gave me a copy of the *Pothí*, or religious book of the *Sauds*, written in a kind of verse in the *T'henth Hindí* * dialect; and he fully explained to me the leading points of their religion. That book I have now the honour to present to the Royal Asiatic Society.

The *Sauds* utterly reject and abhor all kinds of idolatry; and the Ganges is considered by them not to be a sacred object; although the converts are made chiefly, if not entirely, from among the Hindus, whom they resemble in outward appearance.

Their name for God is *Satcara;* and *Saud,* the appellation of the sect, means, they say, "servant of God."† They are pure Deists, and their form of worship is most simple, as I have already stated. The *Sauds* resemble the Quakers, or Society of Friends, in England, in their customs, in a remarkable degree.

Ornaments and gay apparel of every kind are strictly prohibited. Their dress is always white. They never make any obeisance or salutation. They will not take an oath; and they are exempted in the courts of justice; their asseveration, like that of the Quakers, being considered equivalent.

The *Sauds* profess to abstain from all luxuries; such as tobacco, betel, opium, and wine. They never have exhibitions of dancing. All violence to man or beast is forbidden; but, in self-defence, resistance is allowable. Industry is strongly enjoined.

The *Sauds*, like the Quakers, take great care of their poor and infirm people. To receive assistance out of the sect or tribe would be reckoned disgraceful, and render the offender liable to excommunication.

All parade of worship is forbidden. Private prayer is commended. Alms should be unostentatious: they are not to be given that they should be seen of men. The due regulation of the tongue is a principal duty.

The chief seats of the *Saud* sect are *Delhi, Agra, Jayapur,* and *Farrukhábád;* but there are several of the sect scattered over other parts of the country. An annual meeting takes place at one or other of the cities above-mentioned, at which the concerns of the sect are settled. In *Farrukhábád,* the number was about three thousand.

* Genuine or pure *Hindí*, unmixed with Persian or Arabic. The mixed dialect is *Hindustání*.—H.T.C.

† Probably the word may be *Sádh* (Sanscrit, *Sádhu*), signifying pious.—H.T.C.

The magistrate of *Farrukhábád* informed me, that he had found the *Sauds* an orderly and well-conducted people; they are chiefly engaged in trade.

Bháwaní Dás was anxious to become acquainted with the Christian religion, and I gave him some copies of the New Testament in Persian and Hindustání, which he afterwards told me he had read, and shown to his people, and much approved.

I had no copy of the Old Testament in any language which he understood well: but as he expressed a strong desire to know the account of the creation as given in it, I explained it to him from an Arabic version, of which language he knew a little. I promised to procure him a Persian or Hindustání Old Testament, if possible.

XVI. *Extracts from Peking Gazettes. Translated by* John Francis Davis, Esq., *M.R.A.S. Communicated by* Sir George Thomas Staunton, Bart., *V.P. R.A.S.*

Read March 19, 1825.

No. 1. *Extract from the Peking Gazette, dated 5th day of 4th moon, of the 4th year of* Taou kwang (3d May, 1824).

Tseang-yew-tëen (Governor of Chĭh-le province), Pëen tsow,* *i. e.* shortly addresses his Imperial Majesty on the subject of the tribute bearer from the † *Mëen-tëen*‡ nation, now on his way from Peking back to his native country. I deputed civil and military officers to escort him safely and diligently. Now the magistrate of *Tsze-chow* district reports that the said envoy proceeds very well and peaceably on his journey; and that on the 13th of the 3d moon (11th April) he had been escorted as far as *Gan-yang-hëen* in *Ho-nan* province, where he had been transferred to the care of the local officers, to continue his progress. It is right that I present this short address on the subject.

Vermilion reply: " We know it." *Khin tsze.*

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* For the Chinese characters, see Plate III, No. 1. † See Plate III, No. 2.

‡ On examining the site of this *Mëen-tëen* nation, on a very valuable map belonging to the East-India Company, and copied with great exactness from the actual surveys of the missionaries, it is found exactly to correspond to the eastern part of the Burman empire, being placed on the frontier of *Yun nan* province, between 22° and 25° latitude. Close to this, on the same map, is the name § *Ah-wa* (Ava). The following rivers pass from *Yun nan* province into the Burman territory, *viz.* ‖ *Lung-chuen keang*, Dragon-stream river; ¶ *Pin-lang keang*, Betel-nut river. Somewhat to the northward of these, is, ** *Kin-sha keang*, Golden sand river. To the northward of *Mëen-tëen*, towards Thibet, and the Berhampooter river (which latter is written by the Chinese, *A-loo-tsang-poo*, and exactly answers, in *their* way of spelling, to *E-re-chom-boo*, the Thibetian name, according to Turner) the map contains †† *Noo-e*, which either means " the angry, or savage foreigners;" or is used merely to express a foreign sound.

§ See Plate III, No. 3. ‖ See Plate III, No. 4. ¶ See Plate III, No. 5.
** See Plate III, No. 6. †† See Plate III, No. 7.

Erection of Military Posts on the Frontier of YUN-NAN (dated 4th year, 6th moon, 4th day).

Ming-shan, Viceroy of *Yun-nan* and *Kwei-chow* provinces, entreats the Imperial attention to the subject of this address. I, your slave, have received a communication from the military commander, *Ah-tsing-ah*, stating, that "in the first year, and the third moon, he was indebted to the Imperial goodness for his present appointment of general of *Tăng yuĕ chin*, and that having been introduced to your Majesty's presence, he reached his station in the 8th moon of the same year. Three years having nearly elapsed, it is right that he solicit to be again introduced."* In the 6th year of Kea-king (1801) the Imperial decree signified, that for the future, the precise period of presenting military officers need not be rigidly observed: that any such persons as were not immediately engaged in the performance of important duties, might proceed in turn to Peking to be introduced." This is respectfully preserved on record. The station *Tang yuĕ*,† being on the very frontier itself, is of great consequence. Watch-towers and lines of communication are now forming: and it would be inexpedient to entrust the command to an inexperienced person; therefore it is right to petition the Imperial goodness to defer the period of this General's presentation until the work in which he is engaged be completed. For this purpose the present address is humbly offered up.

No. 2. *From the Peking Gazette, of the 4th year of Taou-kwang, dated 3d moon, 20th day.*

Depreciation of the metal Currency in Fŭh-këen province, in consequence of over coinage.

Chaou-shin-chin, Viceroy of *Fŭh-këen* and of *Che-keang* provinces, with his colleagues, kneels and presents this report concerning the depreciation

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* Such is the old established rule; but having been found inconvenient, it is sometimes relaxed. The Viceroy of Shen-se and Kan-sŭh has proposed lately to the Emperor, to confine it to the provinces close to the capital, and excuse the distant ones.

† *Tang yuĕ chin.* In the Company's large MS. map it is placed on the borders of the Burmese empire, between Betel-nut and Dragon-stream rivers.

of the current Tchen* (base-metal coin) in comparison with silver, to the great loss of the provincial treasury; requesting the Imperial assent to a temporary suspension of the coinage, with a view to prevent needless waste, and equalize or bring to a par the market prices of gold and silver.

In the mint of *Fŭh-këen* province, named Paon-fuh-keu, the average coinage of ten days has been 1,200 strings of Tchen† (each string containing 1,000, or ten divisions of 100 each), and therefore the total coinage of one year has averaged 43,200‡ strings (or 43,200,000 Tchen), the use of which has been to pay the militia of the province. In order to procure the copper and lead required for coinage, officers have been regularly deputed to Yun-nan and Hoo-pĭh provinces; and it has been calculated that the expences of transmission and coinage together with other charges, added to the cost of the metal, have amounted, on an average, to $\overset{\text{T m c c}}{1,261^{\underline{600}}}$ in every 1,000 Tchen. The present market value of standard silver in exchange for coin at the capital, is 1 Tael weight for 1,240 or 1,250 Tchen: and it is the same throughout the province. This being added to the above, the total disadvantage amounts to more than $\overset{\text{m c c}}{500}$ in each Tael, and the annual loss to more than 20,000 Taels value.

The province of Fŭh-këen being on the borders of the sea, its distance from some other provinces is great; and the merchants, who resort hither with their goods, finding it inconvenient to carry back such a weight of Tchen, exchange it for silver, as a more portable remittance, by which means silver and coin have become very disproportioned in their relative values, the former rising, and the latter falling, to an unusual degree.

It has always been the rule to pay the militia in *Tchen*, at the rate of 1,000 for a Tael of silver: but now a Tael of silver in the market being worth 1,240 or 1,250 *Tchen*, they experience serious loss from this when they exchange their *Tchen* for silver, with a view to the more ready transmission of their pay to a distance."

After some other details of less interest, the Viceroy and his colleagues

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* *Tsëen*, pronounced *Tchen*, to the northward, and called by Europeans at Canton, cash.

† See Plate III, No. 8.

‡ Taking the Tchen at their proper value, the annual addition to the circulation in this province would be about £14,400, and of the whole empire, taking it at *fifteen* provinces, £216,000. It was probably the great *bulk* of the coin, in proportion to its *value*, which induced the necessity of provincial mints.

propose, that "from the summer half-year of the 4th of Taou kwang, the mint should be shut, and all further coinage suspended: the soldiers receiving their pay in silver, until the relative values of silver and currency approach nearer to a par." The Emperor returns for answer—"The address has been recorded." And a later gazette conveys his assent to the measure.*

Description of the Coins of the Ta-tsing, or reigning Dynasty of China.

I.

SHUN-CHE,† A.D. 1643. The founder of the present Manchow Tartar dynasty, by driving out the *Ming*, or Chinese dynasty. He compelled the Chinese to shave their heads, and wear long tails, like the Tartars. Reigned eighteen years. The other two characters, *Tung-paou*,‡ denote that the coin is current throughout the empire. The reverse of the coin bears the Tartar character.

II.

KANG-HE,§ A.D. 1661. The second Emperor of the present dynasty. Reigned sixty-one years. He has been very much praised by the Jesuit missionaries, to whom he showed great favours.

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* The *Yuen* dynasty or Mongol conquerors of China, established a paper money for the pay of their troops (a fact which is noticed by Marco Polo); but, ignorant of the truth, that the circulation cannot absorb, or take up, more than a limited quantity, without a depreciation of its value, they continued their extravagant issues of paper, until it became nearly worthless; notwithstanding their absurd attempts to keep up its credit, by forbidding the use of *any* medium of exchange but this. The final expulsion of the Mongol Tartars may be attributed in some measure to the ruin induced by the above cause. In an interesting memoir on this subject (a copy of which was obligingly transmitted by its author to the Translator of the foregoing), M. Klaproth very truly observes, that the Manchow Tartars, the *last* conquerers of China, have never attempted to put paper money in circulation; adding, "car ces barbares ignorent encore le principe fondamental de toute bonne administration financière, savoir, que *plus un pays a de dettes, plus il est riche et heureux.*"

† See Plate III, No. 9. ‡ See Plate III, No. 10. § See Plate III, No. 11.

III.

Yung-ching,* A.D. 1722. The third Emperor. Reigned thirteen years.

IV.

Këen lung,† A.D. 1735. The fourth Emperor. Reigned sixty years. The Chinese Empire was never so large as in this reign. Këen-lung expanded it to its greatest size, as Trajan did the Roman empire by violating the wise precept of Augustus, in adding the province of Dacia. Këen-lung sent the embassy to the Khan of the Tourgouth Tartars, a tribe whom he afterwards restored to their native country, from their exile in the Russian territories. Lord Macartney's embassy was to this Emperor.

V.

Kea-king,‡ A.D. 1795. The fifth Emperor. Reigned twenty-five years. Lord Amherst's embassy.

VI.

Taou-kwang,§ A.D. 1820. The reigning Emperor.

* See Plate III, No. 12.
† See Plate III, No. 13.
‡ See Plate III, No. 14.
§ See Plate III, No. 15.

VII. *Memoir on Bundelkhund. By Captain James Franklin, of the Bengal Cavalry, M.R.A.S.*

Read May 21, 1825.

Bundélkhund,* as its name implies, is the tract or country of the *Bundélas;* and comprises all the territory, which the *Rájás* of that dynasty occupied, in the zenith of their power. Thus, the aggregate of the present states of *Téhrí*,† *Jhánsí, Dattiya* and *Simpt'hír*,‡ and as far as the *Désán* river, might be termed Bundelkhund Proper: but, the tract lying eastward of that river being also under the dominion of *Rájás* of Bundela extraction, who are the descendants of *Rájá* Chhatrasál, custom appears to have reconciled the term as applicable to the whole extent of territory occupied by the united dynasties. Following this rule, therefore, the boundaries of Bundelkhund may be stated as follows:—on the north, the river Jumna *(Yamuná);* on the south, parts of Berár and Málwá *(Málava);* on the east, Baghélkhund; and on the west, Sindia's possessions. It extends from 77° 48′ to 81° 33′ east longitude; and from 24° 3′ to 26° 26′ north latitude, being 165 British miles in length by 232 in breadth, and containing 23,817 square miles, with a population of 2,400,000 persons.

Under the Muhammedan government, Bundelkhund formed parts of the Subahs of Agrá, Alláhábád and Málwá: but this arrangement became nugatory on the fall of the Muhammedan empire, and at present the geographical division consists merely in distinguishing the territory in possession of the British government from that of the Bundéla chieftains.

The British possessions extend along the line of the Jumna river, from the zilâ of Alláhábád to that of Etawa *(Atava);* and from the Jumna southward to the frontier of the native states: they contain 4,685 square miles

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* It has not been always practicable to reduce names of places and of persons in this essay to a uniform system of orthography.—*Ed.*

† Written *Teary* and *Tehree.—Maps, Hamilton's Gazetteer, &c.*

‡ Simpter, Simtheer.—*Maps, Gazetteer, &c.*

including the perganah of *Kúnch*, and have a population estimated at 700,000 inhabitants.

This tract being divided into two nearly equal parts by the *Kén** river, the divisions are termed eastern and western districts; and they are again divided in the usual manner into perganahs, and t'hánas, for the facility of collecting the revenue, and regulating the police.

The states of the native chiefs, or *Rájás* of Bundelkhund, occupy the remainder of the tract; and are each under the dominion of its own chief, who enjoys the protection of the British government; and is thus secured from foreign encroachment. They contain about 19,000 square miles, and 1,700,000 inhabitants.

These petty states are numerous; and some of them are extensive: but, in order to present them in a clear light, and shew the nature of the tenure by which they are holden, it will be necessary first to take a general view of the history of the whole province.

The *Chandéla* race or dynasty is the most ancient of which there is any existing account; and even this information, limited as it is, is too much blended with fable to offer any clear or distinct data. The *Chóhán-rása*,† a poetical chronicle of the exploits of *Rájá* Prit'hiráj of Delhi, gives a short account of them; and describes the boundaries of their possessions to be *Sirswághar* on the west, the *Püár (Pramára)* states on the south-west, *Góndwáná* on the south, the *Soorgi (Súrji* or *Súryí?)* territory on the east, and the *Jumna* river on the north; and, following this description, their territory must have been very extensive. Their magnificence indeed is apparent at the present day, by the numerous remains of stupendous edifices, and other ruins, which are to be found in several parts of the province; the style of architecture of which is so superior to that of a later period, that these ruins, and the inscriptions which are frequently connected with them, are not only objects of interest and curiosity, but they might be investigated with hope of eliciting further information.

From the *Chóhán-rása* it appears that Chunder Brim (Chandra Varma) was the first of this dynasty; and, on the authority of an ancient inscription, still extant in one of the old Hindu temples of Kajrau,‡ he is stated to have been contemporary with the author of the Hindu *Sambat*. The fanciful

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* Cane, Keane.—*Maps, &c.* † See page 146, &c. of this volume. ‡ Kujrou.

story of the moon (*Chandra*) appearing in human shape to a Bráhman's daughter on the banks of the Kén river, and the result of that interview, the birth of CHANDRA VARMA, explains that his origin is from the lunar line. And another part of the fiction ascribes to him the foundation of *Mahóba*,* and also of the fort of Calinjar (*Calanjara*);† but the Bráhmans ascribe a much earlier date to the construction of that celebrated fortress.

The author of the *Chóhán-rása* quotes a list of twenty names as the successors of CHANDRA VARMA.

It is to be regretted that there are few historical data regarding any of those personages: all that is known respecting them is from the poetical chronicle abovementioned; and from it we gather, that the first on the list was the founder of *Bárighar*, and the second of *Sirswághar*; the ruins of which fortress are still to be seen on the banks of the *Poháwaj*‡ river. Keerut Brim (KIRTI VARMA), the nineteenth on the list, extended his territory on the side of Góndwáná, and *Parmál Déö* (PRAMÁL DÉVA), the last in it, is stated to have occasioned the downfall of their power, by his folly and mal-administration.

The perversion of mind and intellect, in the instance of PARMÁL DEÖ, which is said to have occasioned the ruin of this dynasty, is fancifully typified according to the taste of the times, by the author of the *Chóhán-rása*, under the fiction of INDRA and his ministering courtezan; but it may also be gathered from the same author, that the immediate cause of quarrel between *Parmál Déö* and his formidable opponent *Rájá Pirt'hiráj*, arose out of a chivalrous exploit of the latter, in carrying off PADMÁVATÍ, the daughter of PADMA SÉN, *Rájá* of *Sanand Sikhar*. A party of the retinue of the *Chóhán* chief, on its return to Delhi, passing through *Parmál Déö's* territory, was opposed by that chief; and the haughty *Rájá* of Delhi, indignant at the insult, resolved to avenge himself by attacking *Mahóba*. This event is stated to have occurred in 1140 H. S., or about 1083 A. D.; and although *Parmál Déö* was permitted to retain *Mahóba*, he was evidently reduced to a tributary condition.

This overthrow, and the invasion of MAHMÚD of *Ghizni*, which followed shortly afterwards, appear to have annihilated the power of this dynasty; and although the fortress of Calinjar withstood repeated sieges afterwards,

* Mahobad, *Maps, &c.* † Callinger, Kallinger, Calanjara.—*Hamilton's Gazetteer, Maps, &c.*

‡ Pohouj.

the whole country was eventually subjected to Muhammedan sway, and finally to that of *Rájá* CHHATRASÁL.

The events which followed the overthrow of the *Chandéla* dynasty are very imperfectly known; but from the local annals of the province, it would appear, that various adventurers exalted themselves upon its ruins, and this state of confusion and anarchy in all probability prevailed without any party obtaining decided ascendancy during the long interval between the invasions of Mahmúd and Timur; but about the period of the latter, a tribe of warlike Rájpút adventurers from *Góharbhúni*, under the conduct of a chief named *Déwádá Bír*, ravaged the district of *Cánár*, on the right bank of the Jumna river, and fixed themselves at Mao Mahóní.* This chief was the founder of the Bundela dynasty. *Mao Mahóní*, *Cálpí*, *Cúnch*, *Cánár*, and *Bijáwar* were his conquests; and his power is stated to have been princely, so much so, that in imitation of other great powers, he was enabled to assume and support the family appellative of Bundéla, and thus gave name to his dynasty and dominion.

The Bundélas are of the solar line, and trace their origin from RAMCHANDRA through his great descendant *Lavan Cúsa*, who established his authority in the province of Benares; and their genealogical line is traced through seven princes bearing the title of *Cáśíśwara*, Lord of *Cáśí*, or sovereign of Benares; seventeen bearing the family appellative *Góharwar*, and thirty bearing that of Bundela.

The conquests of *Déwádá Bír*, and the dominion which he established, suffered no diminution during the rule of his successor, ARJUNA PÁLA; and SUHÁN PÁLA, the third in descent, increased it by the addition of *Corár*, which he wrested from a colony of *Cungháris*, who had settled there. But nothing worthy of notice seems to have occurred after this period, until the succession of MÉNDINÍ MALLA, about the latter end of the reign of IBRAHIM II., or the commencement of that of BABER.

MÉNDINÍ MALLA, the eighth in descent from DÉVÁDÁ, appears to have been of an enterprising character, and is mentioned by FERISHTA in his history. His principal conquests were from the *Püárs*, which unfortunate race, having been driven out of Malwa, had settled in the mountainous parts which bordered on the Bundela possessions. The aggressions against this race did not terminate with MÉNDINÍ MALLA; they were resumed by his grandson, PRETÁP HRAD, whose territory eventually became so extensive, as to induce

* Mow.

him to change the seat of his government, and build a city, named *Oorcha, (Arijaya,* * or *Uchcha)* which he made the capital of his dominions.

Oorcha was built in 1587 H. S., or 1531 A. D., soon after the accession of the Emperor Hamayún to the throne of Delhi, and is situated on the left bank of the Bétwá or *Bétwantí* river in lat. 25° 21′ 15″ N., and long. 78° 38′ 0″ E. Ferishta, the historian, in speaking of the Bundela chieftains, usually denominates them 'Oorcha Rájpúts.'

Madhucar Sah, grandson of Pretáp hrad, is the next chief deserving of notice; he lived in the reign of the Emperor Akbar, and by prudently professing obedience to the Muhammedan government, which was at that period in the zenith of its power, he remained secure in his possessions, and transmitted them to his eldest son, Rám Sáh; but a decree of the Emperor Jehangír is said to have changed the order of succession in favour of his second son, Birsingh Déo, (*Bíra sinha déva*), because that chief had rendered himself useful to court intrigues by the assassination of the celebrated Abulfazl, on his return from the Dekhan.

The *Bundelas,* however, are loud in their praises of Birsingh Déo, and vestiges of his munificence, in the construction of artificial reservoirs of water and temples, are conspicuous to the present day; they certainly have been highly beneficial to cultivation in this barren country, which in a great measure owes its produce to the irrigation which these artificial lakes afford.

Birsingh Déo was succeeded by his eldest son, Jajhár Singh, of whom there is an interesting account in Colonel Dow's history of the reign of Sháh Jehán, which coincides in every particular with the Bundéla records. The story is too long to repeat in this place; but his revolt from the Muhammedan government occasioned the invasion of his territory, which terminated with his expulsion and flight into Gondwáná, whence he never returned.

The power of the Bundéla dynasty was broken by this catastrophe, and *Oorcha* and its dependencies, after this period, were occupied by Muhammedan t'hanahs for the space of six years. But though their power was broken, the spirit of the Bundélas was unsubdued, and the incessant struggles of the chiefs, amongst whom Champat Rao, the father of Rájá Chha-

* Hamilton's Gazetteer. *Oorchar, Ouncha,* Hamilton's Hind. *Uchcha?*

trasal, was most conspicuous, at length, compelled the Muhammedan government to withdraw its t'hanahs; and Pehár Sinh, the third son of the late *Rájá* Birsingh Déo was installed in the possessions of his ancestors.

From this period the Rájás of Bundelkhund became feudatories of the Muhammedan government, furnishing their quotas of troops for the service of the empire, and attending in person when required; and their bravery and warlike character frequently proved of great use: thus, for instance, Indra Mani in the reign of Aurungzeb took part in the war against Shah Shuja, and was present at the battle of *Kórá Jehánábád.* Avadatta Singh, in the reign of Behadur Shah, assisted in the war against the Sikhs; and, for his conduct in the siege of Fatehghar, was honoured with the insignia of the Máhí Murátib as a mark of distinction. Sáwant Singh (*Sámanta Sinha*) in like manner, in the reign of Sháh Âalam, was honoured with the title of Mahéndra for services at *Jhansi,* which title is still retained by the head of the family to the present day. But after the accession of Hatti Singh (*Hastí Sinha*), the successor of *Sámanta,* family quarrels, and the pretensions of Pajan Singh introduced a state of anarchy and confusion, which still further weakened their power, until the accession of Bikramajít, (Vicramáditya) whose good sense and judicious conduct not only stayed the progress of decay, but eventually secured the stability of his possessions by an alliance with the British government. His earliest measures were to resist and overcome the pretensions and aggressions of Pajan Singh, which he fully effected; and, on the occupation of Bundelkhund by the British, he immediately connected his interest with theirs. Circumstances, however, dependant on political considerations, prevented the fulfilment of his wishes at that time: but, subsequently, in 1812, being alarmed at the progress of Sindia's encroachments, he renewed his solicitations for British protection; and that government, convinced of the expediency of the measure, concluded a treaty of friendship and alliance with him, by virtue of which his territories are protected from foreign invasion.

Bikramajít resigned his power during his lifetime to his son, D'harm Pál, and the seat of government is removed from *Oorcha* to *Tehri.* The dependencies of *Tehrí* now constitute the whole of the possessions of the *Bundela* chief; but the principalities of *Jhánsí, Dattiya,* and *Simpt'hir* have all emanated from the parent state, which was governed by the former *Rájás* of this dynasty.

The above sketches relate to the history of the tract situated west of the

Désán river, or Bundelkhund Proper; and it now remains to describe the rise and progress of another government, which at a later period was established by RÁJÁ CHHATRASÁL over the country situated east of that river; and, in order to trace the origin of this power, it will be necessary to refer back to that period of Bundéla history when the Muhammedan government established its t'hanahs in *Oorcha.*

During the interval between the flight of JAJHÁR SINGH into Gondwana and the instalment of PEHÁR SINGH in the government of Oorcha, *viz.* from A. D. to 1633 to 1640, all the Bundéla possessions remained in the hands of the Muhammedan government, a circumstance which roused the patriotic feelings of the Bundéla chieftains to a very high pitch, and gave rise to a series of intrepid and daring exploits almost bordering on the romance. CHAMPAT RAO, the father of RÁJÁ CHHATRASÁL, obtained the greatest celebrity on this occasion; and when at length his successful struggles had forced the Muhammedans to withdraw their t'hanahs, he retired to his native village of *Mahéwa;* there, however, his restless spirit was incapable of remaining in repose; and he was soon engaged in other enterprises. His attachment to PEHÁR SINGH, as the rightful representative of his family, whose cause he had so materially advanced, prevented him from committing depredations on his territory; and he therefore crossed the *Désán* river, and settled at Mao, from whence he began his inroads upon travellers and carriers, and rapidly accumulated the means of future aggrandizement. Meantime his son, CHHATRASÁL, entered into the service of BEHADUR KHAN, governor of the Dekhan in the reign of the Emperor AURUNGZEB. But some cause or other induced him to change it for that of the *Mahrattas,* which was then a rising power, under the famous SIVAJÍ, in which employment he is said to have performed some useful services: and he returned to his country with reputation and credit.

At this period the state of Bundelkhund was as follows: the tract west of the *Désán* river, or Bundelkhund Proper, was occupied by the *Oorcha* Bundélas, who were firmly fixed in their possessions by their allegiance to the Muhammedan Empire; but the country east of that river was disunited and divided amongst various powers. It was possessed partly by the Muhammedans, partly by the Soorgee (*Surjí* or *Suryí?*) and *Raghuvansi* tribes, partly by the Gonds, and by numerous other adventurers, who had established themselves on the ruins of the Chandelas.

CHHATRASÁL, on his return, finding circumstances favourable to his

ambitious views, commenced by reducing the petty states, and gradually established himself at *Punna* with the assumed title of *Rájá.* His next attempt was on the *Soorgee Rájá*, who held possessions in the vicinity of *Terowa* and *Gúrá*, and he reduced him by means of the treachery of his own Dewan. He now became so formidable that repeated attempts were made by the Muhammedan governor of Alláhábád to reduce his power, all of which be contrived to defeat, and finally he gave the Muhammedans a signal overthrow in the hills near *Punna*, and immediately appropriated their districts of *Calpí*, *Rahat*, and *Panwári.* The Muhammedan government was now effectually roused by his ambitious views, and Ahmed Khan Bungish, the Pathán chief of Furukhabad, was sent against him with a force too powerful for him to resist. He was accordingly defeated in his turn and deprived of almost all his possessions.

In this dilemma he applied to the Peshwa, Sewai Bájiráö, for assistance, offering large sums of money, and a promise of a third part of his territory at his death, on condition, that his sons should be maintained in possession of the remainder; and, his offer being accepted, a body of Mahratta troops was dispatched to his aid, by whose means his opponents were defeated, and the Muhammedan government was at that period too much distracted with other matters to renew its attack. Chhatrasál, therefore, peaceably governed his extensive possessions during the remainder of his life, and bequeathed them in three divisions, as follow: a share of forty-five lacs of rupees to his eldest son, Hrĭdaya Sah; a share of thirty-six lacs of rupees to his youngest son, Jagat Raj, and the remaining share of thirty six lacs of rupees to the Peshwa.

By this arrangement the Peshwa became possessor of a large portion of Bundelkhund, which was the earliest territorial acquisition of the Mahrattas in Hindustan, and which, in after times, was transferred to the British. The other portions, after a long series of domestic troubles and civil wars, were parcelled out into a multitude of divisions, which eventually gave rise to the numerous petty states now existing; but in order to exhibit their origin, it will be necessary to follow the history of each of the parties concerned in the tripartite division.

After the death of Rájá Chhatrasál, his sons, Hridaya Sah and Jagat Raj, endeavoured to evade the performance of their father's will with respect to the Peshwa; and a Mahratta force, under *Mulhar Rao Holkar*, being sent against them, they were compelled to execute the conditions of it; and

the Mahrattas, leaving them in possession of their respective shares, withdrew across the *Desán* river into the territories of the Oorcha Bundelas, where they conquered that portion of territory which is at present held by the Subadar of *Jhánsí*.

The division bequeathed to the *Péshwa* comprised all the territory now in possession of NÁNÁ GÓVIND RÁÖ, and also the district of *Ságar*, which has latterly fallen under British dominion. These lands were, in the first instance, committed to the charge of CÁSÍ PANDIT, a commander in the Mahratta army, who had performed some good service in the expedition under *Mulhar Rao*; from him they passed in succession to his son, GÓVIND PANDIT, who was slain at *Sháh durra*,* whilst escorting supplies to the Mahratta camp during the Abdalli invasion; and in consequence of this event they were confirmed in hereditary succession in the same family, with a reduction of tribute from five lacs of rupees to three. From GÓVIND PANDIT they passed to his two sons, BALAJÍ and GANGÁD'HAR, who ruled conjointly. They next passed to APA SAHEB, the son of BALAJÍ; and after his death they descended to NÁṆÁ GÓVIND RÁÖ, the son of GANGÁD'HAR, who is the present possessor.

Ságar was never more than a nominal possession of NÁNÁ GÓVIND RAÖ. The widow of APA SAHIB resided there; and the district, under the management of BINÁYAK RÁÖ, latterly shook off all dependance on the chief of *Jálown*,† and finally conducted himself in a manner so decidedly hostile to the British during the Pindari campaign, that his territory and town were occupied by British troops, and he and the princess placed in the capacity of pensioners of the British government.

The share allotted to *Rájá* HRĬDAYA SAH, the eldest son of CHHATRASÁL, was estimated to produce an annual revenue of forty-five lacs of rupees per annum, and included the metropolis of *Panna*. This portion seems to have undergone no diminution during the life of HRĬDAYA SAH; on the contrary, it was augmented by the capture, or rather by the surrender, of *Callinger* (*Calanjara*). This celebrated fortress, which (considering the means and resources of the native powers of India, and its natural strength), might, in their eyes, be considered impregnable, was the only possession remaining to the Muhammedans in Bundelkhund; but, owing to the disorders of the

* Shadorra.—*Hamilton's Gazetteer.*

† Jalooan.—*Hamilton's Gazetteer.*

times, the troops which garrisoned it, being kept in arrears, mutinied for want of pay, and sold their charge to *Rájá* Hrĭdaya Sah.

Rájá Hrĭdaya Sah was succeeded by his son, Sabhá Sinh, during whose time also this portion seems to have suffered no diminution. He left three sons, Amán Sinh, Hindupati, and Khét Sinh; of whom Hindupati acquired the ascendency and succession, by killing his elder brother in battle near *Durgátál*, and by the seizure and confinement of his younger brother, Khét Sinh.

During the lifetime of *Rájá* Hindupati, the affairs of his country were prosperous and flourishing. He encouraged commerce, and is said to have derived considerable revenue from the diamond mines of *Panna;* and *Chatterpore* (*Chhatrapúr*), under his auspices, became an opulent town and a great mart for commerce. He left three sons, Sernaid Sinh, the eldest, (issue of a second marriage), and Aniruddha Sinh and Dhócal Sinh (issue of his chief *Rání*). This circumstance is of importance amongst the Rajpúts in cases of succession; and accordingly he nominated by will Aniruddha Sinh to be his successor; and during his minority, he appointed his Dewan, Béní Huzúrí, and Khemjí Chóbé, Kiládar of Callinger, to the office of guardians and managers: and to Sernaid Sinh he gave *Rájnagar* and its dependencies, as a provision for him, independent of his brother.

The jealousy, which arose between the guardians, each aiming at the sole management, induced Khemjí Chóbé to support with all his influence the claim set up by Sernaid Sinh to the succession; and hence they became declared enemies. A desperate battle was fought between them, without either party gaining the ascendancy; and their resources being exhausted, they suspended hostilities: and on the death of Aniruddha Sinh, which happened shortly afterwards, they found their interest in agreeing to elevate his brother, Dhócal Sinh, who being a minor, they were thereby enabled to retain the whole authority in their own hands: the *Chóbé* possessing the fort of Callinger, with the country around it, and Béní Huzúrí the remainder of the territory.

Sernaid Sinh, being disappointed in his hope of establishing his claim through the means of Khemjí Chóbé, applied to Núní Arjun Sinh, the guardian of the minor *Rájá* of *Bándá;* and the result of this application, as will be shewn in the sequel, proved fatal to the interests of his family, without advancing his own. Here it is necessary to take up the history of *Rájá* Jagat Ráj, the second son of the late *Rájá* Chhatrasál.

The share of *Rájá* Jagat Ráj was estimated to produce an annual revenue of thirty-six lacs of rupees, and included the large towns of *Bándá* and *Jétpur*.* Jagat Ráj preserved his portion entire until his death; but leaving a numerous issue, the lands were afterwards parcelled out amongst them; and they were said to have been designed by him in his lifetime to be distributed as under: to his eldest son, Kirti Sinh, he designed *Bándá* and *Chircári*; to his second son, Pehár Sinh, *Jétpur*; and, to his natural son, Birsinh Déva, *Bijáwer* or *Católa*. Kírti Sinh dying before his father, and leaving two sons, named Gúmán Sinh and Kúmán Sinh, Jagat Ráj at his death bequeathed *Bándá* and *Chircári* to them. From this origin arose the states of *Bándá, Chircári, Jétpur*, and *Bijáwer*.

Pehár Sinh, who received *Jétpur* according to his father's will, availing himself of the absence of his nephew, appears to have set up a claim to the whole of the territory, with the exception of *Católa*; and the parties were consequently soon in arms against each other. Béní Huzúrí, the guardian of the minor *Rájá* of *Panna*, involved the affairs of that branch of the family in this transaction, by espousing the part of Pehár Sinh; and Gumán Sinh and Kumán Sinh, unable to withstand the united forces of *Panna, Jétpur*, and *Bejáwer*, applied for aid to Sindia, who sent a body of Mahrattas, under Khandaráö Apa and Apa Náyak, to their assistance.

The fortune of the war now turned in favour of the nephews. *Panna* was closely besieged, and Béní Huzúrí obliged to fly: and had not the Bundéla chieftains, at this critical moment, perceived the common danger they were in, from the introduction of foreign troops into their territory, the conquest of it might then have easily been effected. But in this instance they appear to have had some foresight: they suspended their mutual animosities, and united against the common danger; and, by pecuniary concessions, they finally got rid of the Mahratta troops; and settled their own disputes by mutually consenting to abide by the original design of partition said to have been contemplated by *Rájá* Jagat Ráj.

Pehar Sinh retained *Jétpur*, and was succeeded by his son Gaj Sinh; Kúmán Sinh received *Chircári*, and was succeeded by his son, Bijaya Behadur. But *Bándá*, which was the portion of Gúmán Sinh, soon acquired

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* *Jeitpoor*, Maps. *Jyhtpoor*, Hamilton's Hind. *Jít-púr?* or *Jyéth-púr?*

an ascendancy, that was paramount in Bundelkhund, until the invasion of the Mahrattas under Ali Behadur.

Three intriguing ministers, named Ráö Sabdal Sinh, Khém-ráy (*Cshéma-ráya*) Dicshit, and Núní Arjun Sinh, were the confidants and managers of *Rájá* Gúmán Sinh; and at his death he bequeathed his possessions to an adopted son, named Madhucar Sah, under their guardianship. Madhucar Sah died shortly afterwards, and Bhacti Balli, the son of Dharkh Sinh, the son of Kírti Sinh, the son of Jagat Ráj, was installed in succession to him.

The guardians, however, became jealous of each other after this transaction; and Núní Arjun Sinh caused Sabdal Sinh to be assassinated, and imprisoned Khém-ráy. The latter, however, effecting his escape, fled to *Chircári;* and incited *Rájá* Kúmán Sinh to espouse his cause, and march against *Bándá,* in which expedition Kúmán Sinh was slain in battle near *Móhdá,** and Khém-ráy was again taken prisoner.

Núní Arjun Sinh, after this success, invested *Chircári;* and everything but the fort surrendered to him. He next marched towards *Chhatrapúr,* which then belonged to the *Rájá* of *Panna;* and here he artfully espoused the cause of Sernaid Sinh, in support of his claim to the succession of *Panna.* A desperate battle was fought in consequence by the rival Dewáns Béní Huzúrí and Núní Arjun Sinh, in which the former was slain, and the states of *Panna* and *Bándá* fell into the hands of the latter, over which he reigned as guardian to *Rájá* Bhacti Balli.

The cause of Sernaid Sinh having served the purpose for which it had been espoused, was now abandoned altogether, and he retired to *Rájnagar;* whilst Dhócal Sinh, the deposed *Rájá* of *Panná,* became a dependant upon the bounty of the Kilàdar of *Callinjer,* who assigned him some lands, which he enjoyed during his life, and bequeathed them and his state of dependence on the Kilàdar to his illegitimate son Kishór Sinh, who, in aftertimes, by British benevolence, was reinstated as the representative of the *Panna* branch of the family, and became the *Rájá* of *Panna.*

Such was the distracted state of the country, when Ali Behádur formed the design of conquering it; to which he was incited by an artful chief named Himmat Behádur, whose life he had saved from the vengeance of Mádhújí Sindia. Himmat Behádur, in consideration of a *Jáidád,* or

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* Mohda.—*Maps.*

assignment on territory, promised all his influence and power in aiding the conquest; and by his means *Rájá* Bijaya Behádur, then smarting under the effects of Núní Arjun Sinh's invasion of *Chircári*, was induced to favour the design; and Ali Behádur accordingly entered Bundelkhund with a powerful army. The first efforts of the Mahrattas were decisive; they were opposed by Núni Arjun Sinh, and a bloody battle was fought between them near the fortress of *Ajayghar*, in which the guardian was slain, and the minor *Rájá* Bhacti Balli became the prisoner of the conqueror.

It does not appear, however, that he was ever able to effect a complete conquest of that country. After three years of harassing warfare, he prepared to consolidate his conquests by the capture of *Callinger*: but this was an undertaking far beyond his means and capacity; the siege was almost immediately converted into a blockade; and ten years of fruitless endeavour had passed away, when he died, without the attainment of his object.

On the death of Ali Behádur, which happened in 1801-2, Himmat Behádur avowed his intentions of maintaining the government for the Newáb's eldest son, Shamshír Behádur, who was at *Púná* with his mother; and, during his absence, the younger son Zulficár Ali, being then in camp, was elevated, as a temporary measure, under the guardianship of a near relative, named Ghani Behádur. In the mean time, however, affairs at *Púná* had taken a very serious turn. The *Péshwa* had been driven to *Bassin* by the rebellion of Jeswunt Rao Holcar, and the other Mahratta chieftains; where he concluded that Treaty with the British Government, which is known under the name of the treaty of Bassin, the stipulations of which occasioned the war of 1803-4 between the British Government and the Mahratta confederates.

One of the hostile plans of the confederates was to invade the British dominions by the way of Bundelkhund; and Shamshír Behádur, being then at *Púná*, was chosen as a fit instrument for their plans. He was confirmed in the succession of his late father's rights, and despatched to his government; and in the meantime letters were written to Himmat Behádur and the other adherents of Ali Behádur, requiring them to aid in the furtherance of the proposed plan of rendering Bundelkhund the nucleus of the invasion of the British territories which were contiguous to it.

Himmat Behádur, foreseeing in the success of the plan of the confederates the downfal of his own authority, or perhaps thinking he might be able to make better terms with the English, resolved on abandoning the

Mahratta interests, and accordingly made overtures to the British Government to assist in transferring the country to them; and the circumstance of the proposed plan of the confederate Mahrattas indispensably requiring that Bundelkhund should be occupied by British troops, as a measure of defence, the proposal of HIMMAT BEHÁDUR was accepted; and this is the origin of the first occupation of Bundelkhund by British troops.

Shortly after this transaction, the *Péshwa* proposed that the district of Savanore, and other lands, which had been assigned by him to the British instead of subsidy, should be restored to him; and in lieu thereof, and also as an equivalent for a regiment of cavalry, and other matters stipulated in the supplemental articles of the treaty of Bassin, a portion of territory in Bundelkhund to be selected from the conquests of ALI BEHÁDUR, and amounting to 36,16,000 rupees per annum, should be ceded to the Honourable Company; and this proposal being acceded to, the British thereby acquired a large portion of the province.

It would require a detail of events, too lengthened for the limits of this paper, to describe the course of policy, or the system of measures, which at length tranquillized this distracted country, and introduced order and peaceable habits amongst a race of men, who for years had experienced nothing but the comfortless effects of anarchy and civil war: suffice it to say, that the author of this paper having conducted a survey throughout the whole of their territories, has witnessed the happy results of the system which was pursued, and can feel a pleasure in recording them.

In 1817 the *Péshwa*, by treaty, ceded to the Honourable East-India Company all his rights, interests or pretensions, feudal, territorial or pecuniary, in the province of Bundelkhund, including *Ságar*, *Jhánsi*, and the lands held by NÁNÁ GÓVIND RÁÖ; and agreed to relinquish all connexion with the chiefs in that quarter.

Thus terminated the authority of the *Péshwa* in Bundelkhund; and the only advantage which the British Government took of this cession in their favour, was to require from NÁNÁ GÓVIND RÁÖ the cession of a small portion of his territory, with a view to complete the frontier line; and in return he was constituted hereditary ruler of the remainder of his territory, and released from the payment of tribute. The *Subádár* of *Jhánsi* was confirmed in all his possessions as heretofore; but the chief of *Ságar*, by open acts of hostility, compelled the government to displace him, and occupy his territory: the revenue of which, however, is applied partly in payment of a

pension to him and the widow of Apa Sáheb, whose manager he was; and the residue, after deducting the expenses of collection and government, and the lawful demand of tribute as settled by the former government, is paid to Náná Góvind Ráö.

This transaction completed the settlement of the affairs of the province; since which, with the exception of the affair of *Gárácótá*,* there has been no disturbance.

RIVERS.

The *Kén*† river belongs properly to Bundelkhund; it rises in latitude 23° 53′ N., longitude 80° 8′ E., from a range of hills near the village of *Mohár.* Its infant course is northerly, through the *Bandar* hills, which it pierces, and forms a cataract near *Pipariya.* Its direction then changes to west, flowing parallel to the range of mountains, until it is joined by the *Patní, Bearmá,*‡ *Sonár,* and *Mírhásiya* rivers; when the united streams are precipitated over a cataract near the village of *Singhóra,* and foam in a deep narrow channel worn in the rocks, in forcing their way through the *Panna* and *Bindhyáchal* ranges of mountains to the plains below. The course then continues northerly, and after receiving the *Báráná,* the *U'rmál,* the *Cóyal,* the *Chandráwal,* and other minor streams, it falls into the *Jamuná* at *Chilátárá,* after a course of 230 miles. The bed of the river is too rocky for all the efforts of art or labour ever to render it navigable. It is, however, well stocked with a great variety of fish; and the pebbles, which are found in its bed, are so exquisitely beautiful, as to be in great request for ornaments.

The *Désán* is the next great river which peculiarly belongs to Bundelkhund. It rises from the *Vindhya* chain of mountains; and pursuing its course northerly between *Ságar* and *Rahatghar,* and viâ *D'hámaní* and *Jerár,* receives its tributary streams, the *Cátené,* the *U'r,* the *Saprár,* and *Lakhairí* rivers; after which it falls into the *Bétwantí* or *Bétwá* river near *Chandwár,* after a course of 220 miles. This river is more rocky than the *Kén,* and is equally well stocked with fish.

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* Gurra Kota.—*Maps, and Hamilton's Hind.*

† Caonas of Pliny.—*Rennel, Hamilton's Hind.* i. 296.

‡ Bearmah.—*Maps.*

The *Bétwantí* or *Bétwá* (*Vétava*) river belongs partly to Malwa and partly to Bundelkhund. It rises near *Bhópál;* and pursuing a north-east course, pierces the *Bindhyáchal* mountains, about ten miles south of *Chandrí;* and after receiving its tributary streams, the *U'r*, the *Jámní*, the *Désán*, and *Birmá* rivers, it falls into the *Jamuna* near *Amirpur*, after a course of 330 miles.

The *Póhdwaj*, the *Ranj*, and *Paisuni* rivers, exclusively belonging to Bundelkhund, are minor streams. The latter is sacred amongst the Hindus; and its cataract near *Jórai*, as well as its romantic course to the plains below, is exceedingly interesting, and particularly so to the Sanscrit student, who may here fancy himself on classic ground.

There is no cut or canal, nor are any of the rivers navigable, throughout the whole of Bundelkhund: except that, in the rainy season, when the river is swollen, boats lightly laden may proceed up the *Kén* river, as far as *Bándá;* but in the dry season the above remark is without any exception.

LAKES, RESERVÓIRS.

There are numerous reservoirs of water, which have been artificially constructed: of these the principal, east of the *Désán* river, are at *Jutpur*, *Mahóba*, and *Ghórá*. But the great field for these stupendous works is west of that river. The former *Rájás* of the *Bundéla* dynasty expended vast sums of money on works of this nature; and the lakes of *Berwá-Ságar*, *Arjál*, *Bír-Ságar*, *Nandana-wárá*, *Bómóri*, *Jhatárá*, *Gúrá*, *Bhánd*, and many others, are striking proofs of this fact. It is difficult to convey an adequate idea of the immense piles of masonry, which in some cases have been heaped up to stay the current of the stream, and force its waters to expand; or of the extreme simplicity by which the same object has been effected in others: the lakes of *Nandan-wárá* and of *Arjál* are instances illustrative of both these remarks.

The great object of these reservoirs was irrigation; and their waters in some instances are diffused, by means of small drains, to lands which are many miles distant. The general sterility of the soil required these aids; and without them, nearly the whole tract would have remained an unprofitable waste.

MOUNTAINS, HILLS, &c.

The mountains of Bundelkhund run in continuous ranges parallel to each other, each successively supporting a table land, one above the other, and hence they are called *ghâts*.

The first of these ranges is called the *Bindhyáchal* mountains. They commence at *Késóghar*, five miles north of *Sëunda* on the *Sindh* river, and making a circuitous sweep by *Narawár*, *Chandrí*, *Hirapur*, *Rájghar*, *Ajeyghar*, and *Calanjara*, they cease, near *Barghar*, to belong to Bundelkhund, and continue their course, by *Bindhyavásini* and *Tárá*, until they approach the Ganges at *Surájghara*, and again at *Rájmahl*.

Nothing can be more striking, as a topographical feature, than the plains of Bundelkhund, which resemble a vast bay of the ocean formed by these natural barriers, crowned with the fortresses above mentioned; and wnat is somewhat remarkable, the progressive elevation of the soil from the bed of the Jumna, is towards the apex of this bay: hence the diminished altitude of the range at that point, being scarcely 300 feet above the surface, whilst at *Calyanghar* the same range is 800 feet. The most elevated summit does not exceed 2,000 feet above the level of the sea.

Another remarkable feature is the picturesque appearance of numerous isolated hills, which seem to stand alone, and entirely unconnected with any other mountains: but this appearance is deceptive; they are portions of ranges which alternately disappear and emerge, sometimes in the form of isolations, and sometimes in continuous ranges; and it is also worthy of remark, that they all radiate from the apex of the bay, as if from a common centre, and diverge from it like the sticks of a fan.

The second range is called the *Panná* range, which runs parallel to that of *Bindhyáchal*, preserving a distance of about ten miles from summit to summit.

The third range is called the *Bandair* range; and in topographical feature it resembles an acute spherical triangle, the apex of which is near *Nágaund*, the area being table land, and the sides of the triangle having their abrupt faces outwards. This range gives rise to the *Kén* and *Patní* rivers. It is the most elevated portion of the province; and its contour describes in miniature the greater curves of the lower ranges, as if it was the nucleus on which they were formed.

The *Kaimúr* hills do not belong to Bundelkhund, but they run parallel to the other ranges, and therefore may not improperly be mentioned here. In *Baghélkhand* they are called *Kaimúr* hills; in Berar the *T'hamian* hills; and afterwards the *Vindhya** mountains.

FORESTS, JUNGLES, &c.

There are no forests in Bundelkhund, nor any timber which could be turned to use on an enlarged scale; the jungle of the low lands, of which, indeed, there is too much, particularly in the native states, consists generally of the wild jujube (*Zizyphus jujuba*), and wild carandas (*Carissa C.*), with a considerable proportion of gigantic swallow-wort (*Asclepias gigantea*), and other brushwood, which is convertible into no other use than to burn as manure or fuel: but the jungle of the hills is more useful. The bamboo is plentiful; the teak is here and there found of a small size; and, generally speaking, almost every kind of timber common to India is found, of a diminutive growth. Perhaps the most valuable productions of these hills, after their diamonds, iron, and bamboos, are drugs, gums, the chironjia nut, and catechu extract, the produce of the mimosa catechu, which grows here in great abundance.

The preparation of catechu, from its great simplicity, deserves to be noticed. At the season when the sap flows most copiously, a few *Gónds* take up their temporary residence in some solitary glen, where the khair tree (*khadira*) abounds. All the implements they require are a hatchet, a few earthen pots, and the convenience of water. The tree, after being felled, is barked and chipped whilst the sap is flowing; and in the mean time the earthen pots, half filled with water, are ranged in rows over fires; the chips, as soon as cut, are thrown into the water, and boiled until the inspissated juice acquires a proper consistency; the liquor is then strained, and suffered to cool; and it soon coagulates into a mass, which is the catechu, the quality of which depends very much upon the freshness of the tree from which it is obtained.

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* This is the same name with the *Bindhyáchal* or *Bindáchal* before mentioned. *Vindhya* is the tropical zone of mountains across India. This mountainous tract comprises several ranges nearly parallel. Those which face the north and south are particularly known by the general appellation. The intermediate have discriminative denominations.—Ed.

MINES, MINERALS, AND MANUFACTURES.

The diamond mines of Bundelkhund have long been famous; they are situated on the table land between the first and second ranges of hills near *Panná*, and extend from the *Kén* river eastward as far as the *Chilá nadí;* and it is perhaps worthy of note, that beyond these limits no diamonds are found. They are the exclusive property of the *Rájá* of *Panná*; but adventurers may dig for them if they chuse to pay the expenses, and a tax of one-fourth of the produce to the *Rájá*. The mines, however, are so much exhausted, that this privilege is rarely accepted, and is oftener attended with disappointment than gain. The diamonds are found in a red gravelly soil, at various depths below the surface, from three to fifteen feet, but generally at three or four feet, and they are separated from the soil by washing and sifting it; the diamond is of the table or flat kind, and is rarely found perfect.

The iron mines are contiguous to the former, the *Kén* river being the line of separation between them; they are said to be inexhaustible, though at present they are but partially worked by a few adventurers, who pay a certain sum, varying from four to seven rupees a season, for each furnace. The other expenses consist in digging the ore, which is obtained close to the surface, and in the preparation of charcoal; and so simple is the first process, that the metal in its earliest stage can be purchased at the mines for one rupee twelve anas per maund. When taken from the mines, it undergoes a second and sometimes a third refinement, under more skilful hands, in which state it usually comes to market.

The miners are generally of the *Gónd*, or other hill tribes, who prefer a wretched subsistence in these barren regions to the plains below; and in times of scarcity, numerous robberies are committed by them. If, therefore, a small capital were judiciously employed in working these mines, and means of constant employment afforded to these people, great beneficial results might be expected in a philanthropic point of view; and in this light it might be worthy the attention of the British government, as the produce would serve to supply their magazines and arsenals.

The manufactures peculiar to Bundelkhund are a coarse kind of cloth, which is stained red by a colour extracted from the root of the *Morinda citrifolia*, or *aal* plant, much cultivated in some parts of the province. *Gárautá* and *Kótrá* are the chief places of this manufacture, but *Cálpí* is the usual

mart. *Cálpí* is also famous for its sugar-candy and paper; and *Jhánsi* may be particularized for its carpet manufactory. A coarse kind of sacking is also made in great abundance along the banks of the *Bétwá* river, and at *Chhattrapúr*, which supplies wrappers for the bales of merchandise passing to and from the *Dekhan*.

SOIL, PRODUCTIONS, MODE OF HUSBANDRY.

The soil of Bundelkhund exhibits every variety, from the rich black loamy soil to sterile *kankar*, or Calc-tuff. The valleys and low lands are generally of the former kind; and if properly irrigated, it is as productive as any in Hindustan. It produces the sugar-cane, cotton, indigo, the *aal* plant, wheat, barley, holcus sorghum, holcus spicatus, and every species of the pulse and lentil tribe. In the more sterile parts are grown several species of grain of the millet kind, panic and paspalum: but even these inferior kinds are not attainable by the lower orders in times of scarcity, and the fruit of the *mahüá* tree (*Bassia latifolia*), on such occasions, may be ranged amongst the necessaries of life. Thousands of human beings are supported by the produce of this tree: and in extraordinary times of dearth and scarcity, the pounded bark of the *katbal* tree is often mixed with the fruit of the *mahüá*; but it is a melancholy reflexion, that those poor wretches, who are reduced to the necessity of using the bark of the *katbal* tree, are observed soon afterwards to fall victims to its effects.

The mode of husbandry varies in no respect from other parts of the country. They plough with oxen, and tread out their corn with the same animal; and if there is anything remarkable, it is that the simple Chinese wheel, set in motion by oxen, and admirably adapted to raise water which is near the surface, is employed in some parts to irrigate the lands.

The waste lands of Bundelkhund afford matter for observation, and thousands of acres, particularly in the native states, which now lay waste, and covered with jungle, might by ordinary means and management be brought into cultivation. The method is simply to root up the jungle and burn it on the spot as manure; but there is either a want of capital, or a want of confidence between the governing and the governed, which retards this desirable improvement; and these vast wastes continue to remain, to the disgrace and prejudice of their owners.

Buffaloes and oxen in this country, as in most parts of India, are the chief domestic animals: the former are in request as beasts of burden, and the latter for every purpose of husbandry. The best breed of oxen is in the perganahs of *Chandlá-Bicháwan.* The sheep are small, but the goats are superior; the term *Jumna-pári* (or across the Jumna), is applied to denote their superiority.

REMARKABLE BUILDINGS, RUINS, NATURAL CURIOSITIES.

There are no very remarkable buildings now extant; but there are several ruins, which mark the site of buildings that must have been magnificent in their time: for instance, at *Máhóbá*, at *Cajrau* near *Rájnagar*, at *Málhan* above the hills near *Jódhpur* (*Yuddhapura*), at *Sirswághar* near *Sáliya* on the *Poháwaj* river, and in many other places. These vestiges, and the numerous inscriptions which are to be found in many parts of the country, have all a reference to its ancient history.

Amongst the natural curiosities may be reckoned the subterraneous cavern called *Gópit-gódávalí*, near *Chitracota*; another cavern, called *Biya Cúnd*, in the hills near *Bijáwar*; the cataracts of *Bédhak*, near *Calyanghar*; of the *Paisuní* river, near *Jorai*; of the *Bhágí* river, south of *Calinjer*; and of the *Ránj* river, south of *Ajayghar*: but perhaps the greatest objects of curiosity are the forts of *Calinjer* and *Ajayghar*.

INHABITANTS AND RELIGIOUS ESTABLISHMENTS.

I shall conclude this paper with a short account of the inhabitants and religious establishments, commencing with that class, who, from the respectability of their origin, are still considered as chiefs, and are seldom found in a capacity inferior to that of a zemindar. Of these, 1st, some descendants of the *Yaduvansi Ahírs*, who in very early times had possessions above the hills, near *Jodhpur* and *Sháhwágar*, a few of whom are still to be found in the country. 2d. The descendants of the *Chandela* race. 3d. The *Raghuvansi* tribe, of *Baraundá*, east of *Calinjer*, who still enjoy property and power. 4th. The *Bundéla* race, who are always in the capacity of chiefs, and who never cultivate the soil. 5th. The *Püár* tribe, who were originally expelled

from *Malwa*, and have small possessions tributary to *Jhánsí*, at the foot of the hills south of *Nerwár*. 6th. A tribe calling themselves *Dhandélas*, who came from *Sháhghar*, and occupy a small tract of country tributary to *Jhánsí*, above the hills south of *Nerwár*. 7th. The *Gújer* tribe of *Sampthír*. The Mahratta Pandits of *Jaláwan*; and, 9th, The *Chóbés*, who were lately expelled from *Calinjer*.

Of the inferior tribes, the following are the most common: *Lód*, *Cúrmí*, *Cúlí*, *Canghán*, *Ahír* (*Abhíra*) and *Chamár* (*Charmacára*). The native chieftains seem to find these castes more tractable, and accordingly they are found in every capacity, from the zemindar to the lowest tiller of the soil; but there is another caste which inhabits *Banphari*, a small tract in the perganah of *Chandlá*, who are called *Banáfers*, and are the descendants of Alla and Udal, two famous champions of the period of Parmál Déö. They seem to preserve a portion of the rough character of their ancestors; and are often discovered in groups with their spears planted around them, chanting verses in praise of their exploits. Formerly they were desperate thieves, and used to go armed to their daily occupations; but latterly they have become more tractable.

The Bundélas have been generally allowed to be a brave race of men; and there is something rudely haughty about them to the present day. They are certainly attached to the soil they inherit, and have a term, *Bhúmiyádi*, which may be translated patriotism, and which they use to express their exertions in behalf of their country.

The principal Hindu religious establishment is at *Chitracote* on the *Paisuní* river, where Ráma Chandra is said to have rested on his way to *Lancá*. There are also some *Jain* temples at *Sendwal* and *Kandalpur* for the worship of *Buddha* (*Jina*). But the most singular religious establishment is at *Panná*, and was founded by an enthusiast named *Jí Sáheb*, who emigrated from the *Panjáb* in the time of *Rájá* Chhatrasál.

This man assumed the appellative of *Prdnandt,h*, or Lord of Life, and declared himself to be the promised *Imám* Mehedi, mentioned in the Koran. His first attempts to set up his new religion were in the *Panjáb*, that fertile spot for religious innovation. Afterwards he removed to *Delhi*; and finally, to avoid the persecution of the Muhammedans, he fled into Bundelkhund, where he found protection under the rising power of *Rájá* Chhatrasál.

None but converts to his religion are allowed to read his book, which is

entitled *Kúlzam;* but having procured some extracts from it, and other information concerning it, I ascertained that his principal arguments for the necessity of this new religion are founded on the discrepancy which exists between the practice of Muhammedans and the precepts of the Koran; and he professes to promulgate in his book the remaining 30,000 words, which Muhammed, on the occasion of his miraculous ascent into heaven, was told should be reserved for the coming of *Imám* MEHEDI.

The followers of this sect are called *Dhamians;* and their dress is after the Hindu fashion, to favour their interpretation of that passage of the Koran, which says that *Imám* MEHEDI will appear in disguise. They are to be found in the *Panjáb,* in *Gujerat, Delhi, Luknow, Benares, Muthra, Faizabad,* and *Nagpur;* but *Panná* is their Mecca. Latterly they are said to have made some progress; but their whole number does not exceed 1500, of which about twenty are employed at their place of worship at *Panná,* and the remainder are engaged in trade. The present establishment was endowed by *Rájá* HINDUPATI with a small portion of the diamond mines, which affords subsistence to the devotees employed in their temple, and at the shrine of their founder at *Panná.*

XVIII. *Observations on the Lepra Arabum, or Elephantiasis of the Greeks, as it appears in India.* By *Whitelaw Ainslie, M.D. M.R.A.S.*

Read June 4, 1825.

It is, I presume, a truth pretty well established, that all such cutaneous affections as are not ushered in by particular febrile symptoms, are more common and more inveterate in hot than in temperate climates: but, with the exception of Doctors Hillary and Towne, I am not aware that any author on tropical diseases has bestowed much attention on maladies of this description, though some of them are singular in their character, and most of them very untractable.

Travel writers, foreign as well as English, have been more liberal of their observations. Pocock * mentions those of Damascus; Volney † notices the cuticular complaints of Egypt; Stedman,‡ in his work on Surinam, is equally considerate; Browne,§ in his travels in Africa, makes particular mention of the *Boras* (Leuce) and *Dzudham* (Elephantiasis), both in Egypt and Syria: he indeed says that the leprosy is more rarely to be met with in the first than the last named country, which it might not perhaps be difficult to find a reason for; and, in support of his assertion, we may cite Savary, who, in his "Letters on Egypt," informs us that he never, while there,|| saw one unfortunate leper; though, by his "Letters on Greece," it would appear that he found several in the islands of the Archipelago (pages 110, 111). Galen,¶ however, gives us a very different account of that land in his days. "In Alexandria quidem Elephas morbo plurimi corripiuntur propter victus modum, et regionis fervorem." It is, notwithstanding,

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* See Pocock's Travels, vol. ii. page 122.

† See Volney's Travels in Egypt, vol. i. page 248.

‡ See Stedman's Surinam, vol. ii. page 285.

§ See Browne's Travels in Africa, page 332.

|| On the other hand, Pliny tells us that Elephantiasis was common in Egypt.—Nat. Hist. lib. xxvi. chap. 1.

¶ Vide Op. Galen, class vii. page 107, F.

strange, that neither Strabo nor Herodotus, so far as I can learn, makes the least mention of it. Niebuhr,* in his "Travels in Arabia," speaks of the *Bohak* (Alphos), *Baras* (Leuce), and *Dzudham* (Elephantiasis), as all common amongst the Arabs. On Ceylon † such affections are but too frequent. In the Island of Candia, leprosy was observed by Sonnini;‡ who seemed to think that it was the only contagious disease which the inhabitants had, and that it was originally brought to them from Asia. In the more remote parts of that quarter of the world, in China,§ in Sumatra,‖ all along the shores of the Malaya peninsula, the most piteous wretches are often seen, covered with scurf, or deprived of their fingers and toes; and on the different islands,¶ which constitute the Indian Archipelago, similar sufferers are perhaps still more common.

I shall now proceed to give some account of Elephantiasis, as it appears in our Eastern dominions.

Sauvages has given perhaps the best nosological definition of the disorder: "Facies deformis tuberibus callosis, ozœna, raucedo, cutis Elephantina, crassa, unctuosa, in extremis artubus anæsthesia."

This, it will be seen, differs from Cullen's description in two essential points: the latter author having omitted ozœna, which is a never-failing symptom of the disease in its advanced stages; and moreover calls it *morbus contagiosus,* of which there are great doubts, notwithstanding the assertions of the learned Darwin; indeed, for my own part, after the most minute inquiry, I am led to conclude that it is not a contagious disease; and should be further inclined to believe, with due deference to the high authority just mentioned, as well as to *Pierre Campet,*** *Aretæus,*†† and *Dr. Towne,*‡‡ that

* See Niebuhr's Travels in Arabia, vol. ii. page 278.

† See Marshall's Medical Topography of Ceylon, page 43.

‡ See Sonnini's Travels in Greece, page 396.

§ See Dr. John Clarke's Observations on the Diseases of long Voyages, vol. i. page 128.

‖ See Marsden's Sumatra, page 151.

¶ Leprosy is so frequent in those islands, that the Dutch were obliged, and we afterwards followed their example, to allot a small island for the exclusive use of the unhappy sufferers; it is called Lepers Island, and is near that of *Saparoa,* under the government of Amboyna. For the frequency of the disorder in those islands, the reader is referred to Mr. Crawfurd's History of the Indian Archipelago, vol. i. page 34.

** See Maladies graves de la Zone Torride, page 290.

†† Vide Aretæus, lib. ii. cap. xii.

‡‡ See Towne's Treatise on West-India Diseases, page 190.

the supposition of its ever having been so, must originally have proceeded from the desire every one naturally evinces to shun all such as are afflicted with this frightful and loathsome distemper. The most intelligent Tamool doctors, with whom I have conversed on the subject, informed me, that what they call *Kústam* (*Cusht'ha*) (Lepra Arabum) cannot be caught by infection during the common intercourse of life; but that it might perhaps be given by introducing leprous blood, or ichor, into a sane habit, by means of inoculation; and this appears to be a rational enough conclusion, when we reflect that the complaint is not, like *Pruritus*, confined to the skin, but seems to be connected with a degeneracy of the whole fluids. I cannot find any well authenticated fact of an Indian having caught the disease, by associating with those who had it; nor, of three Europeans whom I have known to die of Elephantiasis, did either the wives or servants, who had lived with them for several years, become infected.

There is every reason to believe, however, that this species of leprosy is hereditary: it is certainly so far so, that children born after the malady has commenced on either of the parents, are liable to be attacked by it. The Hindu medical men have no doubt that the *Cusht'ha* descends in this way; but at the same time they tell us, that some of the children may escape it altogether, while others, though they may have remained quite healthy for a number of years, will at length fall victims to the disease: they have also made the same observations in this instance, which we have done with regard to other hereditary evils in Europe; that is, that one generation may escape the constitutional infirmity, and the next in descent suffer from it. Some authors,* who have noticed the affection as it appears in other parts of the world, have told us, that men labouring under it are very salacious; I cannot learn, however, that any such peculiarity attaches to the lepra in Hindust'han: on the contrary, it has been questioned† whether the miserable objects afflicted by it are capable of sexual intercourse: but there appears to be no good reason for supposing that they are

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* Such as Hillary in his Diseases of Barbadoes, pages 325, 326; Sonnini in his Travels through Egypt; Bancroft in his Natural History of Guiana, page 385, &c.; MM. Vidal and Johannis in their account of the disorder at Martigues. See a treatise on the supposed hereditary nature of diseases, by J. Adams, M.D. page 91.

† Dr. Adams, in his work on Morbid Poisons, speaks particularly of a wasting of the genitals in Elephantiasis, as he found it at Madeira.

not, at least during the early stages of the disorder, before the numbness of the extremities has proceeded to its greatest height, or the general debility becomes excessive. Nay, do we not every day see children, the professed offspring of a leprous parent, whose legitimacy we have no right to doubt?

Perhaps there is no class of human infirmities into which greater confusion has crept, than into that of cutaneous diseases; the ancients themselves appear to have adopted names in the most vague and indefinite manner; and the Arabian writers, their translators, and commentators, have unfortunately been little more distinct; this much, however, is certain, that the *Lepra Arabum* is the *Elephantiasis* of the Greeks; the *Elephantia* of Haly Abbas; the *Juzám*, also *Dául'ásád* of the modern Arabs; the *Khórah* of the Persians; the *Ara mauny wanny* of the Cingalese: by the Hindoos it has got various appellations, *Jagáru*, *Bar'á ázár*, &c. In Dakhíní it is often termed *Ruggit Pitthie*; it is the *Untat* نتت, and *Kedál* قدال of the Malays; the *Tubug*, also *Cheureuh* of the Javanese; the *Ma-fung* of the Chinese; the *Nambí* of the Sumatrans, and the *Kústam* of the Tamools. The Sanscrit name of it is *Kusht'ha* (कुष्ठ) whence Hindi, *Kór'*.

Dr. Hillary, in his work already cited (pp. 322, 335), makes an erroneous distinction betwixt the malady now under consideration, and what he calls "*the leprosy of the joints*;" for the latter is nothing else than an advanced stage of the former, and is termed by Dr. Towne, in his diseases of the West-Indies, "the joint evil." Dr. Hillary further supposes, that the leprosy of the joints is no where noticed by the Greek physicians, and only by *Haly Abbas* amongst those of Arabia; a mistake, which, after having made, however, he seems inclined to correct, by adding, "without indeed they meant that sort of leprosy in which they mention the falling off of the limbs."

Aretæus * of Cappadocia, who wrote in Greek, has given us, under the title of Elephantiasis, perhaps the most perfect picture of this distemper that has ever appeared; and takes particular notice of the falling off of the fingers and joints of the feet; he farther adds, perhaps a little extravagantly,

* A knowledge of the exact period at which Aretæus lived appears to be one of the desiderata in medical history. Le Clerc, in his "Histoire de la Médecine," says it is probable that he may have been contemporary with Galen; but this is merely conjecture: and of the two (Galen and Aretæus) so much is only correctly known, that they lived during the long interval betwixt Pliny and Paul Eginatus, and Aetius.—See Hist. de la Médecine, pages 516, 517.

that, before death ensues, the leper is sometimes actually torn limb * from limb. The medical men of his day and country not unfrequently called the affection *Leonia*, from the circumstance of its distorting the human countenance, and giving it somewhat the appearance of that of a lion when enraged; others again, the same writer observes, bestowed on it the appellation of *Satyriasis*, from the shameless lasciviousness that attends it.

Modern French writers have named this leprosy "*Le mal rouge*," and it may be found described under that name by Pierre Campet, in his "*Maladies graves de la Zone Torride*" (p. 290). But, although he gives upon the whole a tolerably good account of it, he does not bestow on it its proper name of Elephantiasis; that he thinks fit to reserve, like Dr. Thomas,† and some others, for what we term the *Barbadoes* or *Cochin leg*, which is the *Elephas* of Haly Abbas, and the *Elephantia* of Avicenna. Modern Arab ‡ physicians call it *Dái'l-fil* داع الفيل It is the *A'nay taal* of the Tamools: the *Yĕanŭgay-kăloo* of the Gentoos; in Dakhíní it is *Hati ka paön* هتي كاپارن in Sanscrit गजपाद *Gaja-páda* (Elephant's leg); and in Cingalese, *Goney Parangy*.

Dr. Adams seems to be of opinion, that the Greek authors were not only totally unacquainted with the leprosy, distinguished by the tumefaction on the limb, and which afterwards got the name of Elephantia, from some of the Arab authors; but that the Latins § themselves were practically ignorant both of this and the true Elephantiasis of the Greeks. In this last inference, however, which is perhaps drawn from Lucretius,‖ I presume that the Doctor has made a slight mistake, of which the reader may satisfy himself by turning to Pliny's ¶ Natural History, where he will find that the genuine Elephantiasis was well known in Italy, but not before the time of Pompey the Great; yet it would not appear to have been of long continuance in

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* Vide Aretæus, lib. ii. cap. xiii.

† See his Modern Practice of Physic, vol. ii. page 188.

‡ It would appear that *Abubĕkĕr Mohamed Rhazes* has, of all the Arab writers, given the best account of this disease: he lived and practised in Persia upwards of eight hundred years ago, and has made an exact distinction betwixt Elephas and the true Elephantiasis.—See Histoire de la Médecine, by Le Clerc, page 771.

§ See Adams on Morbid Poisons, page 289.

‖ See Lucretius, lib. v.

¶ See Pliny's Nat. Hist., lib. xxvi. cap. i.

that country, in which I believe it is at present no where to be found; at all events very rarely.

We have to regret that the very able writer cited above (Adams), who has allotted several pages of his valuable work to leprous impurities, did not do something more than he has done to remedy the want of arrangement, which has been so long complained of in this class of diseases: for, notwithstanding his great research, and evident conviction of what was wanting, he seems finally to have taken without distrust the nomenclature such as he found it, however vague and indiscriminate; and, after detailing with a master's hand many of the most marked symptoms of the Elephantiasis of the Greeks, under its proper name, he adds: "But when I use the single term Elephantiasis, my wish is, to confine it to the modern disease, the Barbadoes leg:" in this way the old confusion is carried on; and to two complaints, very opposite in their nature, is given the same appellation.

There are no less than three names bestowed by the Tamool doctors on the Elephantiasis of the Greeks: *Kústam*, *Cárin Kústam*, and *Pĕri Vishadi*; the first signifies in their language the disease that cuts short; the second has the word *Cárin* prefixed, to denote the black or rather purple colour of the tubercles, and of the countenance and skin altogether, of such as labour under this dreadful affliction. The third and last name, *Pĕri Vishadi*, or great disease, is a term used by the Brahmins, and others of high rank, merely from delicacy, to avoid pronouncing the word *Kústám*, which when spoken never fails to excite a degree of disgust.

The leprosy of the Arabians, by which I must be understood to mean the Elephantiasis of the Greeks, is by no means of rare occurrence in the Indian peninsula, and spares no caste nor sect, though it is certainly more commonly found amongst the poor than the rich, owing no doubt to their manner of living, and consequent languid circulation. It is not often, as I have already remarked, that it shews itself before the age of puberty; but when it does, it seems to repress in a wonderful degree the growth of the body. Boys or girls so disordered never attain to any graceful stature, but soon become meagre, shrivelled, and miserable; their voices are shrill as well as nasal, and continue so. With coming years they evince little sexual desire, and that hair which usually covers the chin of boys, and pubes, after a certain period, either never appears at all, or is of a very delicate texture, and but thinly scattered. When the disease begins at this early stage of life, the mind as well as body seems to suffer in the general wreck. Such

lepers are poor in spirit, drooping and listless: they are rarely seen to smile, and have not unfrequently a weakness of intellect approaching to idiotism. But the malady commonly begins its depredations about the age of twenty-three or twenty-four, seldom later than forty; and the following are the symptoms, so far as I have been able to observe, which mark its first approach, progress, and termination.

The unhappy person fated to perish by this slow but relentless affliction, first perceives an unusual dryness and slight roughness of skin in his hands, feet, arms, and legs, which, even after violent exercise, do not transmit the perspiration readily; he begins to fall off a little in his appetite, and to be much troubled with flatulence and other signs of indigestion, but he is as yet not ill enough to be alarmed, and pursues his customary occupation; his sleep, soon after this, in place of being refreshing to him as it used to be, is disturbed by wild dreams, and he frequently during the night starts up in a fright, with a palpitating heart and sense of suffocation. About six weeks or two months from the time of his first being taken ill, his colour begins to change; if he was a rather fair man, he grows at least two shades darker, and his features lose much of their natural aspect, becoming somehow tumid and less agreeable than formerly. The dryness and roughness of skin increase, and about the end of the third month he complains of a strange numbness in his hands and feet, which he can allow to be pinched without feeling pain; his pulse, which was most likely always feeble, will, if felt, be found to be extremely languid, small, nay at times scarcely to be perceived. The aridity and unevenness of skin now extend further, reaching as high as the middle of the arm and leg; indeed, the cuticle over the whole body seems rigid, harsh, and to have entirely lost that smooth and healthy look which it had before the lepra made its primary attack. About this period many dark coloured spots and purple tubercles usually appear on the ancles and wrists, and partially on the legs and arms; they are in shape not unlike segments of ripe currants, but flatter at top, and of a singular shining and oily aspect; they are not attended however with any pain, neither are they particularly itchy,* which in truth they could not well be, when we consider that they are subsequent to the want of feeling

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* Dr. Thomas Heberden, in his paper on this leprosy, says, I think erroneously, that the tubercles are attended with great heat and itching.—See Medical Transactions of the College of London, vol. i.

which I have above described. Some of the tubercles occasionally disappear suddenly, and return again, without evident cause; others generate a small quantity of ichorous matter, which drying, occasions a trifling scurfy desquamation. At this stage of the malady I have met with one or two cases in which glandular swellings at the upper and inner part of the thigh made their appearance, similar to those mentioned by Dr. Adams;* but, as far as I can learn, this is by no means so constant a symptom of the disease in India as it seems to be in Madeira. The leprosy advancing, the tubercles increase in size and number, and seizing on the face, render the infected person a most unsightly object. It must here be remarked, that up to this period the breast, abdomen, and back either remain tolerably smooth, or the tubercles are comparatively much fewer upon them; they are moreover smaller in size, nor ever on those parts do they occasion much white desquamation, the natural consequence of their greater vitality. About the end of the first year every symptom is much aggravated: the dryness and rigidity of skin becomes universal, is distressing in the greatest degree; the numbness has extended to above the knee, and is so great, that the poor sufferer may, through inadvertency, burn his hands or feet to the bone without perceiving it: the surface of the whole frame assumes a bright yet unctuous appearance; when narrowly examined, it looks wrinkled longitudinally, and not unfrequently feels, in those parts where feeling remains, as if stung with nettles, rising up into wide spreading irregular bumps, which come and go. The skin about the wrists and ancles, where the tubercles have scaled off, has a scurfy appearance, and here and there a raw excoriation may be perceived, the consequence, perhaps, rather of chafing than ulceration. The countenance alters still more; the cheeks grow bloated and puffy, and are studded, if I may so say, with irregular dark protuberances; the muscles of the forehead enlarged, seem as if pushed downwards; the eyebrows, thickened and swollen, hang over the eyes, which being in every instance inflamed and rheumy, and having been made to look rounder by the pressure from the neighbouring parts, resemble those of some wild animal; the lobes of the ears are rough, knotty, and misshapen; the tongue is foul, and is in some cases blistered with tubercles, which bleed; the breath is fœtid; the voice sounds unpleasant; the urine is plentiful, and generally turbid, having a most

* See Adams on Morbid Poisons, page 273.

unnatural odour; the bowels irregular; the hairs of the head gradually fall off; the parts of generation shrink; the nails break and waste away; the fingers and toes seem as it were withered, the former bending inwards as if crampt, and the heels and soles of the feet are disfigured by deep fissures. The disease gradually going on, and the humours of the body becoming, from the impeded transpiration and general stagnation, daily more corrupt; the voice, which was but six months before only unpleasant, owing perhaps to tubercles on the uvula and palate, has now a most discordant, nasal, and unnatural sound; the *alæ nasi* are swelled and scabrous, and the bones themselves of that organ are in certain cases flattened, and twisted in some degree to one side, giving to the countenance a distorted look. A most offensive ichor now distils from the nose; neither rest nor food tend to refreshen or invigorate, and all carnal appetite, in place of being increased, as some authors* imagined, entirely dies away.

In this condition, with many of the grand functions which support life deranged, it may easily be imagined that existence must be a state of misery; and the conviction that there is no hope whatever of recovery, makes the wretched leper still more an object of pity.

In the advanced state to which I have brought, in description, the Lepra Arabum, as it appears in India, the malady will sometimes continue for several years, apparently having come to an ultimate stand; but, alas! with declining years is sure to come progressive misery: every symptom is finally rendered worse; the already ugly become loathsome; on the most trifling motion the respiration is hurried, and the dyspepsia is most tormenting, owing in all probability to the perspiration being obstructed over so great a part of the surface of the body, and the certain accumulation of morbific humours: when any exertion is used sufficient to excite diaphoresis, the only parts that perspire are the neck and a little round the waist; the face, legs, arms, and thighs are thereby merely rendered clammy, and the tubercles on them turgid. At this time a feverish attack comes on regularly every evening, which may be discovered by the increased heat of the axilla, and the eyes assume that dim but brassy appearance, so properly noticed by Aretæus;† pulsation is no longer felt any where, but

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* See Sonnini's Travels through Egypt, page 559. See also Aretæus, by Moffat, page 278; also Hillary's Diseases of Barbadoes, page 322—326.

† See Aretæus, page 283.

by pressure over the heart itself; the whole frame is emaciated, the face is frightful to behold, the voice sounds hollow as if from the tomb: the hands and feet now, from long want of due nourishment, begin to give way; partially blistered-looking ulcerations taking place over their joints, they gradually drop off, and so add helplessness to misery and long-protracted calamity. Soon after this stage, comes the last closing scene; worn out by lingering and hopeless wretchedness, dead almost to every feeling of body as well as mind, the poor leper hastens to his grave: yet, cadaverous as he is, he is not deserted in his expiring moments, but finds a humane and charitable support from the more prosperous of his race. If a Pariah, he is taken care of by those of the same rank till death comes to his relief: if a Hindu or Muhammedan, he is cherished by the individual benevolence of his sect or caste; and having been conveyed to the vicinity of some pagoda or mosque, breathes out his dying prayer on what he conceives to be sacred ground!

I have been informed by my much respected friend Mr. H. T. Colebrooke, that the Lepra Arabum is supposed by the Hindus of Upper India to be inflicted as a punishment for sins committed in this world, and that any person dying of it is liable to a return of the disease in his next birth; an evil that may be averted by voluntary death, by which means former crimes are expiated: the sufferer is born again, clean, and no longer subject * to the same disorder.

I have so far taken a view of the malady as it appears unchecked by any medicine whatever; it however will be found to vary according to existing circumstances, to the peculiar constitution of the leper, and as it may or may not meet with any other disorder in the habit. In poor people, who are badly fed, who do not keep themselves perfectly clean, who may be perhaps during the first stages of the complaint harassed with labour, and perhaps unavoidably exposed to the vicissitudes of heat and cold—in such, in fact, whose circulation must from a combination of debilitating causes, become every day more languid, the lepra will soonest reach to its greatest height; but amongst the more affluent, whose means enable them to take greater care of themselves in regard to diet and non-exposure to excessive heat, it will prove more tardy in its progress, owing to the better preserved

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* See Ward's Hindoo Mythology, vol. ii. book 4. chap. ii. sect. 29.

vigour of constitution: nor has it on those last-mentioned individuals by any means so unsightly an appearance; for though there are present, in every instance, the affection of the nose, the altered voice, the clouded colour, and that constant characterizing symptom the want of feeling in the extremities, yet in such cases the joints sometimes do not fall off, at all events not till a very late period of the malady; and the skin on the legs and arms does not put on the scurfy look in so great a degree, but, though rough, furrowed, and shining, is kept comparatively smooth by frequent bathings, and the external use of cocoa-nut oil.

Mr. Robinson, in a valuable paper on Elephantiasis as it appears in Hindusthan, and which may be found in the Medico-Chirurgical Transactions, Vol. X., has described two varieties of the disease, which he thinks are often confounded under the same name. The one he calls *Elephantiasis Anaisthetos*, the other *Elephantiasis Tuberculata*: the first, as the name implies, marked by a want of feeling in the extremities; the second, by tubercles. I cannot say that I ever was led to believe that there were two distinct varieties, though the malady no doubt assumes varying appearances in different individuals, the natural consequence of age, peculiarity of habit, mode of living, &c. &c.; and this much I can affirm, that I never met with a single case of the genuine disease, which was not equally distinguished by want of feeling in the hands and feet, and by tubercles.

In the first volume of the Edinburgh Medical Transactions may be seen a paper on this Lepra by Mr. Playfair, in which he particularly notices the virtues of the *maddr* powder,* as a remedy for it.

I have already expressed a doubt whether this lamentable disorder ought to be considered as contagious; and I at the same time assigned my reasons for believing it to be hereditary: there is, however, another question which naturally offers itself regarding it, and that is, whether it may occur independently of constitutional predisposition. I confess that I am inclined to be of opinion, that in most regions of the Torrid Zone it may be brought on by a particular combination of causes, which I shall soon mention, operating on a habit distinguished by certain peculiarities. Such instances, however, amongst Europeans, we may safely suppose are extremely rare; and I cannot here omit noticing a singular fact, connected with leprosy; it

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* Powder of the bark of the root of the Asclepias Gigantea.

is this, that in every case of it I have known, in an European habit, the affected person was a German, a Dane, or a Swede, but never an Englishman: now as we learn from various accounts, that this horrid scourge is still occasionally met with in the northern* parts of Europe, though long banished from Britain and Ireland, it becomes a query, whether those men may not have brought the seeds of the disease with them from their native country.

To ascertain the true cause or causes of this leprosy would be no easy task; and I fear, as happens in the instances of many other affections to which the human frame is subject, that here little more is in our power than to offer a probable conjecture. Dr. T. Heberden, in his account of the malady, distinguishes it into two species, according to its manner of attack, *viz.* that by *fluxion*, and that by *congestion*. The first he thinks is often the attendant of crapula, or surfeits from some gross food, whereby the latent mischief may be called into action; violent† agitation of mind is supposed to be a not unfrequent cause of the disorder; and, in the female sex, a suddenly suppressed menstrual discharge by bathing the legs in cold water at an improper time. Aretæus‡ calls it, according to the theory of the age in which he lived, a refrigeration of the innate heat, or rather a congelation similar to the conversion of water into snow, and perhaps this comes as near the truth as any thing that has been said on the subject in these more enlightened days.

Some time towards the end of the year 1811, I requested Mr. Charles Stewart, a medical officer then under my superintendance, and stationed at Tranquebar, in the vicinity of which town the leprosy of the Arabians is very common, minutely to examine as many persons labouring under the disease as he could collect together, and to report to me accordingly. Mr. Stewart obeyed my instructions; and the following are the general conclusions which I drew from that gentleman's observations on fifty lepers, male and female:—

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* It would appear by some late accounts, that the Lepra Arabum is very common in Iceland and Norway, in which first-mentioned country it is mentioned under the name of *Skyrbjugur*. See an excellent description of it, as it appears in those parts of the world, in a letter from Chevalier Bach to Dr. Trail, in Pinkerton's Voyages and Travels, vol. i. page 713.

† See Edinb. Practice of Medicine, vol. iv. page 511.

‡ See Aretæus, page 279.

1st. That women are less liable to suffer from Elephantiasis than men.

2d. That the disease is most certainly hereditary.

3d. That its being in any degree contagious is extremely problematical.

4th. That every leper, suffering from an advanced stage of the malady, doubts whether he is capable of propagating his species.

5th. That a fish diet is found to render every symptom worse.

6th and lastly. That poor living, want of cleanliness, mendicant misery, and exposure to cold and damp, are but the too constant attendants of this dreadful affliction.

Lorry, in speaking of leprosy, says, "Universum totius corporis cancrum est ut omnes medici veteres eam vocant," and seems to have believed it to be occasioned by black bile. The same author informs us, that, on opening the body of a soldier who died of the Elephantiasis of the Greeks, the liver* was found enlarged and indurated. Schilling† imagined, that the malady might be caught by sleeping in the same bed with an infected person; also from the fetid odour of the ulcers. He prescribed for it the decoction of a plant common in the marshes near Surinam, and there called *Tondin:* it is of the genus Paullinia. The Lepra Arabum is well described by Alibert in his work on cutaneous disorders (page 46), under the name of "*La Lèpre Tuberculeuse:*" he is of opinion that it is an affection of the lymphatic system, and tells us that it is sometimes to be met with at Paris. As to the mode of treatment, he speaks in rather desponding terms, and appears chiefly to have trusted to wine, decoction of bark, and aromatic fomentations.

Most authors agree that improper food, and especially rotten or decayed fish, is an exciting cause of the disease; and we know that Sir William Jones‡ informs us, that the Hindu doctors commonly ascribe it to drinking copiously of milk after eating fish. On the other hand, we learn from an account of the Lepra as it shows itself at the Isle of France,§ that it is to be cured by the use of turtle. That the complaint could ever be brought on by the over use of maize or millet, as Cassal supposed, is highly improbable; but such a notion it would appear prevails in the Asturias:‖ that

* See Alibert on Diseases of the Skin, page 94. † See same work, page 90.

‡ See his works, vol. i. page 556.

§ See Edinburgh Medical Journal, October 1823.

‖ See Alibert, page 88.

the use of pork, when the hog had been improperly fed, may do mischief on such occasions, I can more easily conceive, nay, know to be a fact.

As far as regards the more remote causes of the leprosy of the Arabians, it may, I think, be safely admitted, that hereditary taint is a prime agent, accompanied by an extremely languid circulation, and a somehow defective* condition of the skin, which prevents a free transmission of the cutaneous discharge, thereby retaining in the habit what under other circumstances would have passed away: some or all of such peculiarities being present, the disease may perhaps be produced by one or more of the following exciting causes, creating in the body a viscid, acrid, and morbid humour: unwholesome food, such as decayed salt fish, taken at the same meal with buffalo milk; the flesh of swine or fowls, which had been permitted to feed promiscuously on musty grains and certain acrid vegetables;† irregular living; fear; grief; surfeits of various kinds, particularly of glutinous fish after long and painful fasting; alternate exposure to heat and cold; night damps; want of cleanliness; the use of impure water; and mendicant poverty.

In proceeding to notice the treatment best suited for this lamentable affection, it grieves me to say, that Elephantiasis has ever been considered as one of the most difficult of all those disorders to which the human frame is liable. Aretæus, of old, tells us, in the beginning of the chapter in which he treats of this malady, "It is necessary that remedies should be more powerful than diseases, in order to overcome them; but what cure can be devised sufficient to encounter so dreadful an evil as the present." Dr. Turner,‡ in his work on diseases of the skin, declares that the Elephantiasis of the Greeks is a most dreadful malady, if at all curable. Dr. Heberden himself observes, that excepting in one patient, he never saw or heard of a confirmed case of it terminating favourably. Nay,

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* Dr. Quincy supposed the cause of leprosy to be some original malconformation, in the necessity of one secreting organ doing the office of another to which it is not naturally fitted.—See his Medico-Physical Essays, Essay VI., on Leprosy.

† Amongst the great variety of vegetables taken as food by the Hindus, some of those picked up by the road side and eaten by the poor are of a deleterious nature, such as the *Toombay keeray* (Tam.) Phlomis Indica.

‡ He defines it as contagious, and calls it a cancerous *căcheria* of the whole habit, arising from some fault in the liver or spleen, and consequent *atrabilis* or adust humour.—See his work, pages 3 and 4, second edition.

Dr. Towne* in his treatise on the disorders of the West-Indies, frankly acknowledges that he had never performed a perfect cure of what he called "the *joint evil.*"

I have already observed how certainly the *Kústam* of the Tamools has been ascertained to be hereditary; a fact which must tend most effectually to damp our hopes, when called upon to treat any case of it springing from that source. When this leprosy descends from parent to child, it appears earlier in life than in other attacks; when the malady is either acquired, or perhaps when the taint has been less powerful, it does not shew itself till a much later period; and it is in those last-mentioned instances that our chance of affording relief is the best, as the habit must be then stronger, and the patient more manageable.

In this, as in all other hereditary complaints, much good may be done by avoiding what has been termed exciting causes; a caution which cannot be too forcibly inculcated, to those who may have reason to dread a visit from this distemper. The ancient Greek physicians were in the habit of ordering bleeding at the beginning of this disease, and giving freely as a drink a decoction of the *Hiera picra.* Aretæus as well as Galen † recommended viper's flesh, with the exception of the head and tail of the animal; the latter prescribed, at the same time, emetics of the white hellebore, and purgatives of the black; sea bathing, the tepid bath, and a generous use of rich wine, he considered as powerful assistants; and advised that the diet should be of easy concoction, and such as produced good juices: he moreover enjoined exercise, and, unlike the medical men of the present day, allowed his patients to eat fish and pork.

The modern Arabian physicians seem to trust chiefly to mercury for the cure of the *Juzám,* which the reader may assure himself of by looking into a work entitled *Almaghni fi shereh al mújiz,* written by SEDID ADDÍN GAZERANG; also, *Shereh ásbáb va ilámat* (a celebrated treatise on the causes, signs, and remedies of diseases) of NEJB ADDÍN MODÍN AL SAMARCANDI, by NAFIS BEN AVIZ, dedicated to *Sultan* ULUGH BEG GURGÁN.

Dr. Hillary was of opinion, that all preparations of mercury except the *mercurius calcinatus,*‡ given in small doses as an alterative, with antimonials,

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* See his work, page 191. See also Hoffmann, part v. cap. v.

† Vide Op. Galen, class vii. page 107, F.

‡ See his Diseases of Barbadoes.

aggravated and increased the disease; he gave at the same time a decoction of sarsaparilla. Dr. Towne found that antimonial preparations afforded the greatest relief, and that mercury in any shape rendered every symptom worse. Pierre Campet,* in his "*Maladies graves des pays chauds,*" observes that Dr. Joseph Flores had announced a wonderful specific in cases of this leprosy, and which at Mexico, Malaga, and Cadiz had met with the greatest success; it was the small lizards, called in the French Encyclopedia *Anollis de terre, ou Gobe-mouches;* after having cut off the tail and head of the little animal, and taken out the intestines, it is cut into small pieces, and eaten fasting, while the parts are warm and yet palpitating: he further adds, that at Guatemala, and in Mexico, not more than five or six lizards had been required to cure the disease at the rate of a lizard a day, but that many more became necessary to produce the same effect in Europe. It would appear however, by Dr. Pearson's† account, that these animals,‡ by trials made with them by Carminati and others, have no positive medicinal effect in such complaints. Dr. Quincy § thought that mercurials were undoubtedly beneficial in this, as well as in all other disorders proceeding from sharp saline humours retained in the body. Dr. Hugh Smith,‖ on the other hand, appears to have disapproved altogether of the use of mercury in this complaint, preferring pure antimonials, with the use of the *Decoctum Ulmi* as a diet drink, in the quantity of four or five ounces twice daily. Dr. Good ¶ tells us that a free use of sarsaparilla, mezerion, and guaiacum has been found beneficial, and that even the *Lobelia* has had its advocates. Dr. T. Heberden, who had frequently occasion to treat this malady at Madeira, mentions a case of it in which a perfect cure was performed, by means of an electuary composed of powdered bark, with a third part of sassafras root, inspissated with syrup; of this, the quantity of a large nutmeg was ordered twice daily, the patient having his legs bathed in an embrocation consisting of an ounce of lixivium of tartar and two drams of spirit of sal

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* See the work, pages 299, 300.

† See his Synopsis of Materia Medica, page 41.

‡ For a particular account of the use of lizards in leprous affections, the reader is referred to the London Medical Review, vol. iii. pages 205, 206, where will be found observations by M. Demourande of Cadiz, and M. Delarche of Madras.

§ See his Medico-Physical Essays, Essay vi.

‖ See his Formulæ Medicamentorum concinnatæ.

¶ See his Study of Medicine, vol. ii. page 859.

ammoniac, intermixed with half a pint of proof spirit. I cannot say, however, that I experienced any good whatever in prescribing the bark in affections of this nature in India; on the contrary, it appeared to heat and irritate.

In every attempt I made to combat the Elephantiasis of the Greeks on the Coromandel coast, the first thing I did, previously to ordering any medicine whatever, was to bring the general health of the patient into a better state, by nourishing diet, and due attention to exercise and cleanliness; the necessity of attention to this caution must be evident, seeing that the disorder is so frequently found amongst the mendicant poor, whose reduced habits are but ill suited to stand the operation of any powerful medicine.*

The corrosive sublimate has been given by some medical practitioners in this affection, in small doses, in conjunction with the muriatic acid and antimonial wine;† but this is a prescription I cannot recommend from my own experience.

In whatever form mercury is prescribed, great care must be taken not to push it so fast, or so far, as to bring on a weakening *ptyalism,* which cannot fail to be productive of infinite mischief; it will be necessary, however, to touch the mouth, and keep it so for some weeks. Warm bathing is frequently to be had recourse to (let the plan pursued be what it may); and when we have done our utmost by the use of mercury in one shape or other, to overcome the disorder, we must continue to support the frame by giving generous wine or other cordial.

The mineral acids are unquestionably of great service. The *tinctura guaiaci ammoniata,* as a stimulating sudorific, has been supposed to possess considerable virtues in such affections, in doses of one to two fluid drams. Of the *tinctura gambogiæ ammoniata* I have had no experience; it has been ordered to the quantity of a tea-spoonful or two, night and morning. The *vinum antimonii compositum* of the *Pharmacopeia Chirurgica* is a valuable medicine in this, as well as other cutaneous complaints.‡

From what I have said under the head of the exciting causes of this malady, it need scarcely be observed, that the diet ought to be generous.§

Hindu medical writers reckon no less than eighteen different kinds of *Kústam* or Lepra, the two worst are called in Tamool, *Vén kústam* or scaly

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* See Note A. † See Note B. ‡ See Note C. § See Note D.

leprosy, and *Carin kústam*, or black leprosy; the first corresponding with the *Lepra Græcorum*, the last with the *Lepra Arabum*. These, Agastya, in his celebrated work entitled *Vaidya Acerum*, and also in his *Pérnúl*, informs us, descend from father to son, and may, he adds, be hastened by the following causes:—

1. By drinking milk* after eating glutinous fish to excess.
2. By eating food which is of a windy nature.
3. By eating (when urged to it by great hunger) victuals of a disagreeable taste or odour.
4. By worms in the body.
5. By eating too much *yellow* (seed of the *sesamum orientale*).
6. By checking vomiting, so retaining in the body what ought to have been ejected.
7. By habitual costiveness, by which means morbid humours are pent up.
8. By the union of a morbid, gastric (hypochondriacal) humour and vitiated bile.
9. By a viscid acrid humour in the blood (serum).

Certain varieties of *kústam* (leprosy), he is of opinion, are occasioned by the bites of different noxious animals of the beetle kind.

Others again, the same author tells us, are brought on by the bites of snakes and venomous lizards.

There are a great many medicines in use amongst the Hindu practitioners, which are supposed to possess virtues in leprous affections. They have for ages past considered the white oxide of arsenic as a powerful remedy in the *Kusht'ha* (Sans.), and as such it may be found noticed by Athar Ali Khan, of Delhi, in the Asiatic Researches, vol. ii. page 153. I have had occasion to prescribe this medicine in several cases, but I am sorry to say not with any marked good effect; and I perceive that Dr. Bateman† had no better success in administering the same remedy for the malady in question.

The root of the plant called by the Tamools *Eraporel* (mimosa scandens), is ordered for this leprosy in the form of decoction, to the quantity of half an ounce, twice daily. An extract prepared from the leaves and tender

* I perceive this cause of the disorder is noticed by Sir William Jones.—See his works, vol. i. page 556.

† See Bateman's Practical Synopsis of Diseases of the Skin, page 311, note.

shoots of the plant called *Mărudăni* (*Tam.*) *Lawzonia Spinosa*, is also sometimes given, to the extent of half a spoonful, twice daily.

The kernel of the nut called in Tamool *Níredimútú*, is, with other medicines, prescribed in the form of electuary, to the quantity of half a tea-spoonful, twice daily; I believe the plant to be a species of Jatropha. Different preparations of mercury are recommended by the Tamool physicians in leprous cases, as may be seen by turning to the *Materia Medica* of *Hindustán* (pages 106, 107). In the Tamool sástram entitled *Pérnúl*, written by Agastya, will be found a prescription which has great repute in lower India in cutaneous affections; it is a distilled oil prepared from a combination of nineteen different plants, chiefly aromatic; it is given in the quantity of two gold fanams weight, twice daily, in conjunction with a little sulphur: the same oil is also recommended as an external application for the ulcerated joints. But of all the alterative and deobstruent remedies employed by the native practitioners of India in this complaint, none is of equal repute with the concrete milky juice of the plant called by the Tamools *Yercam* (Asclepias Gigantea); it exudes from the leaves and tender shoots on being pricked, and has at first somewhat the appearance of cream; but on drying becomes a little darker coloured, and has a rather nauseous and acrid taste: the dose is about a quarter of a gold pagoda weight, given twice daily, together with a little sulphur, and continued for some weeks. The plant is termed, in Sanscrit, *Arca*, also *Vásuca*, and *Pratápasa*.* In the Canarese language it is *Yécádá*; in Hindustáni it is named *Madár*;† in Dukhiní, *Akré*; in Javanese, *Wádúri*; and in Arabic, *U'sher*, according to Avicenna (233), though it would appear that in Arabia Felix, the *Asclepias Gigantea*‡ has got the appellation of *Oschar*, which, however, may be a corruption of the same word. In the Materia Medica of Hindustan, above cited, which I published at Madras in 1813, will be found (page 128) some account of the *yercam* plant (*asclepias gigantea*), and its use amongst the Hindu doctors; also some notice of what has been by some considered as a variety of the same plant, and termed in Tamool *Vallerkú*; but I have since had reason to believe that this last is of a

* The *Arca* or *Vásuca* is the rosy variety; the *Pratápasa* or *Alarca*, is the white sort.—H.T.C.

† From the Sanscrit, *Mandára*.—H.T.C.

‡ The reader will find farther notice of this plant in Springel's "*Rei Herbariæ*," vol. i. pages 252, 253; also in "*Abu Hanifa abud Serap*," cap. 50; also in "*Alpinus' Egypt*."

different genus altogether, and what was named by the late excellent Dr. Klein, of Tranquebar, *Exacum Hyssopifolium*, and is in all probability that which is said to be often confounded with the true *asclepias gigantea*, in the upper provinces of India, and there called *Akand*.* I have said, that the dried milky juice of the *asclepias gigantea* was considered in southern India as powerfully alterative; and late accounts, which I have received from that country, tend the more to convince me of it: I should therefore venture a query, whether, as such, it might not be tried in cancer, that most intractable of all maladies. The bark of the root of the *asclepias gigantea*, as it appears in the bazaars of lower India, is of a pale colour, and has a bitter, and somewhat nauseous and pungent taste: the natives consider it as alterative; also as a gentle stimulant, taken in decoction to the quantity of two table-spoonfuls twice daily: and Rheede, in his *Hortus Malabaricus*,† where the plant is mentioned under the appellation of *Ericu*, says, that a decoction of its root is given in intermittent fever, and in those swellings of the limbs which women sometimes have after confinement. The powder of the bark of the root of the *asclepias gigantea*, called in Bengal *madár* powder, has been highly extolled of late as a valuable remedy in lues venerea, leprosy, and cutaneous diseases in general. Mr. Playfair, in a paper already mentioned, and which may be seen in the first volume of the Edinburgh Medical Transactions, goes so far as to say that it is one of the most useful medicines hitherto derived from the vegetable kingdom; and it would seem, by an excellent paper‡ on "*Elephantiasis as it appears in Hindustan*," by Mr. Robinson, that he also bears witness to its powerful effects as a deobstruent and sudorific, in almost all cutaneous eruptions; the dose of this powder is from three grains to ten.

Dr. Good, in his Study of Medicine,§ notices two other species of Elephantiasis: one common in some parts of Italy, and termed *Elephantiasis Italica;* the other as occurring occasionally in Spain, which he calls *Elephantiasis Asturiensis;* but, as I have already observed, respecting Mr. Robin-

* In the Hortus Bengalensis, published by Dr. Carey, from Dr. Roxburgh's MS., *Akand* is given as the *Hindí* name of asclepias gigantea.

† See Hortus Malabaricus, part ii. page 55.

‡ See Medico Chirurgical Transactions, vol. x. See also Dr. James Johnston's most valuable work on the influence of tropical climates, page 268.

§ See work, vol. ii. page 856.

son's *Elephantiasis Tuberculata*, and *Elephantiasis Anaisthetos*, I consider them as the same disease in every instance, only differing a little in the symptoms in different habits, owing to age, mode of living, peculiar state of the body, &c.

The appearances of the body on dissection do not throw much light on the peculiar nature of the malady, further than that I have observed in such cases the heart to be usually small, and the arterial system altogether shrunk and collapsed: the liver I have in one or two instances found indurated, and the gall bladder for the most part distended with viscid and very dark coloured bile; the contents of the abdomen had, generally speaking, an unusually pale and wasted appearance; the bones, when laid bare, were dry and brittle; the testicles, in one or two instances, were almost entirely obliterated; and, on opening the head, it has appeared to me that there was a more than ordinary determination of the blood to the membranes of the brain.

Besides the Lepra Arabum, there are several other cutaneous or leprous disorders but too common in India. The Lepra Græcorum is much less frequent, however, than that which we have made the subject of this paper: the Hindus of Lower India term it *Venkústam*, also *Shevutay cuday mayghum*, from a notion that it is occasioned by the bite of a small red reptile with numerous legs; it is often to be seen in the Malay countries, and there has the name of *Sakit Bercúdis*, or scaly disease.

The *Elephas*, or Barbadoes leg, I have already had occasion to mention.

The *Leuce* of the Greeks (Λευκη) is the *Vallay kústam* of the Tamools, and the white *Baras* or *Beres Abéz* of the Arabians; in *Dukhní* it is *Sufáid khóre;* and in Tellinghoo, *Tella kústam*. Haly Abbas has exactly described this affection in his *Theoria* (cap. xvi. lib. 8). It is but a trifling evil compared with the Elephantiasis of the Greeks; and does not appear to have called forth much attention amongst modern medical writers. Celsus* has placed it under the same head with *Alphos* and *Melas*, considering the three affections as different species of *vitiligo:* though certainly the *Leuce* bears no resemblance whatever to the other two, which are nothing more than slight and innocent desquamations of the scarf skin; the one called *alphos*, from its white colour, the second *melas*, from its black. The first of

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* Vide Celsus, lib. v. cap. xxviii.

these two is the *Vallay Taymble* of the Tamools; the *Alázah* or *White Bohák* of the Arabians, and the *Sufaid Saím* of the Muhammedans of India. The last, the *melas*, is the *Carin Taymble* of the Tamools, the *Kala saim* of the Muhammedans of India, and the black *Bohák* of the Arabians.

What are called *Albinos*, or white Indians, are often met with in the more inland tracts of the Peninsula. It is no place here to enter minutely into the singular affection which distinguishes those miserable beings. *M. Blumenbach*, of Gottingen, *M. Ruzzi*, a surgeon of Milan, and *Saussure*, in his "Voyages dans les Alpes," have given us much curious information regarding them: in Tamool they are named *Ven Pandoo*; in Tellinghoo, *Tella Pandoo*; and by the Muhammedans of Lower India, *Góra lóke*. Their colour is that of a dead European of a very fair complexion. They are almost blind till brought into some dark or shady place, so painfully susceptible are they of the common light of day. Their constitutions are extremely delicate; they are for the most part timid and irresolute; and are seldom known to live to an advanced age: the females rarely bear children; but, when they do, their offspring is of the natural colour of the tribe to which they belong.

XIX. *Eugraphia Sinensis; or, the Art of Writing the Chinese Character with Correctness: contained in Ninety-two Rules and Examples. To which are prefixed, Some Observations on the Chinese Writing. By John Francis Davis, Esq., M.R.A.S., F.R.S., &c.*

Read June 18, 1825.

ON THE CHINESE WRITING.

The graphic beauty of a written language, which approaches so near to the hieroglyphic as the Chinese, where many of the characters are intended as pictures of the idea to be conveyed, where the variety of the lines, or strokes, is so great, and their combinations are so numerous, must be allowed at once to exceed, and to be more difficult of attainment than, that of the alphabetic writing of Europe. The number of the simple characters, or elements, of which all the compounds of the language are formed, greatly exceeds that of any one alphabet; but, when compounded, their relative juxta-position and arrangement, the shortening of some strokes and the lengthening of others, is of course subject to some general rules; which, from the very nature of the subject, must be more numerous and complicated, than the mere joining together of our European letters. The advantage of simplicity (and a very great advantage it is) constitutes the chief merit of alphabetic writing; that of variety and graphic beauty may fairly be claimed by the Chinese.

It must be observed, however, that there are two forms, under which the character generally appears: of these, the *Sung pan*,* in which books are commonly printed, being stiff and inelegant, lays claim only to correctness; the other, *viz.* the *Keae shoo*,† in which all papers of consequence are written, and which occasionally is also used in print, combines both correctness and beauty;‡ it is at once the most elegant, the most useful, and

* See Plate IV, No. *I.*

† See Plate IV, No. *II.*

‡ There are several other forms, and among the rest the seal character, which is somewhat analogous to our black letter; and which being hardly ever used, does not deserve much attention from Europeans.

the most studied form of the Chinese character. To attain skill in writing it, is more or less the aim of every educated Chinese; and to impart that skill, is the object of the work, whose rules I have translated, and given its examples, in the following pages.

Of the two points, correctness and elegance, the first only is absolutely required of students, at their public examination;* though, of course, if the latter exist, it is held to be an additional recommendation. If graphic skill be ever held cheap in China,† it is only in the possession of him who can lay no claim to the higher attainments of solid erudition. It will always procure as much consideration as it is worth; and that it is worth a great deal, when combined with learning and critical accuracy, is proved by the care with which it is studied.

Having derived some advantage, in writing the character correctly, from an observance of the rules that follow, I concluded that they might prove equally useful to such Englishmen, or others, as studied the language, of which the written character must be allowed to form an important department. It is well known, that the Chinese themselves write with a hair pencil, but partly with a view to make it more difficult for them to forge such papers, and partly because it is a readier method. The British Factory at Canton, in their correspondence with the local government, are accustomed to have their letters, &c. in the native language, written with a pen, on English paper; though it certainly is not possible with our pens exactly to imitate the pencil strokes of the Chinese; yet by dint of practice much may be done with it, even in point of neatness and beauty: the form of the character, and its proportions, may be most accurately preserved; and there is no reason whatever why, in point of correctness, the writing of the pen should not be fully equal to that of the pencil.

The rules and examples that follow include every possible class of written character; and indeed, some few of them are little more than mere repetitions of the same general directions, though, as they were made for the instruction of the Chinese themselves, I have thought it right to omit none,

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* To prove how much stress is laid on this, the Chinese have a common story of some candidate, who having written the character for a horse, with a horizontal line at the bottom, instead of with four points, was rejected altogether, being told "it was impossible for a horse to walk, without its legs."

† See Chinese Moral Maxims, page 175.

in my translation. It may be as well to notice, in this place, two or three leading precepts, which, as they apply to the writing of every character in the language, are more especially to be kept in mind.

First, it is a rule both in printing and writing, that each character should occupy about the same space in the page, or be nearly of the same size as the rest, whether it consist of only one or two strokes, or of a great number.

Secondly, it follows from the above, that where the strokes are few, they must be thickened and enlarged in proportion; and that where they are many, they must be proportionably diminished, and written close to one another.

Thirdly, in forming a character, it is proper to commence at the top, towards the left hand; thus, in writing *Lin*,* it is right to begin with the horizontal stroke in the left portion, then to bring down the perpendicular across it, next the left oblique stroke, and lastly the right: this being done, the right hand portion of the character is completed in the same manner. The remembrance of a few such rules greatly simplifies the subject, and, joined to regular practice, renders the acquisition of a sufficient portion of skill, for every useful purpose, by no means a difficult undertaking.

But it is not alone for the purpose of learning to write, that Chinese writing is to be studied; without some practice in this way, it is impossible to fix many characters in the memory, and no man can properly be considered to learn the language, who does not devote a portion of his time to this important branch of the subject.

No reasonable person, at the present day, will deny the necessity that there is, for some few, at least, of our countrymen being possessed of a competent and practical knowledge of the Chinese language. He who ever carries his thoughts back to the past, will allow how ill we should have fared without it, on many critical discussions with a people, of all others the most extravagant in their assumptions, and the most difficult to manage; and he who can look beyond the present day to the future, may not only foresee (as long as our government neglects to make some sort of provision against such contingencies) the possibility of discussions still more embarrassing, and more difficult, than have ever yet occurred at Canton; but

* See Plate IV, No. *III*.

when he takes into consideration the extension of our Indian frontier to the northward and eastward, may easily anticipate the chance of our being, some day, unavoidably placed, with respect to the Chinese empire, in relations of a far more weighty and important nature, than such as are simply commercial.

The Chinese, themselves, are cunning enough to know, that "knowledge is power;" and, though they have, of late years, gradually relaxed in their vigilance, and may at length be considered to have relinquished the point,* the jealousy with which they, not very long ago, regarded the attainment of their language by Europeans, sufficiently shewed the importance that they attached to it, and the consequences that they foreboded, from such knowledge, to their selfish interests.

Every step that renders us independent on native aid, in acquiring and making use of the language, may be considered as something gained: not to mention, that such aid is hardly procurable by the student in Europe. The Chinese might, at a future period, revise and greatly increase the penalties against such of their people, as give instruction to Europeans, at Canton; and the very occasions, on which the use of the language was most required, would be those on which the assistance of natives was most likely to be cut off. Besides, as experience has shewn that the local government, notwithstanding its pretended pride and indifference, has condescended to employ spies upon our actions and intentions, these persons, being necessarily acquainted, in some measure, with our counsels, would be the most convenient that it could select for the purpose.

The assiduous labours of our countrymen, during the last ten or twenty years (I, of course, especially allude to the valuable dictionaries of Dr. Morrison), have done nearly all that was required towards this desirable independence on native aid. Something, however, seemed still wanting, which might make us acquainted with the general rules by which the Chinese are guided, in writing the great variety of their characters: and the object of the present compilation, imperfect as it is, has been to supply, in some measure, the defect.

Macao, 5th July, 1824.

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* It was insisted upon by the British Factory, in the discussions of 1814, and at length yielded to them.

All characters are composed of the six following kinds of strokes, or lines,* *viz.* :—

Hung	....	Horizontal.
Shoo	....	Perpendicular.
Peĕ	....	Left oblique.
Nă	....	Right oblique.
Kow	....	Hooked, or bent.
Teĕn	....	A point, or dot.

THE NINETY-TWO RULES FOR WRITING THE CHINESE CHARACTERS WITH CORRECTNESS.†

1. The upper part should cover in what is below.

2. The horizontal stroke below should be rather extended, as a foundation for what is above.

3. In these, the left-hand portion should be elevated, and the right depressed.

4. In these, the left-hand portion should be small, the right full and extended.

5. In these, which are compared with something carried on a pole, the horizontal stroke in the middle should be long.

6. Let the perpendicular, in these, be drawn down perfectly straight through the middle.

7. The 20th of the 214 Chinese keys, or radicals, should not be much deflected nor short, in these.

8. Let the 20th radical in these be neither too upright nor too long.

9. The horizontal line in these must be short, the oblique long.

10. The horizontal lines must be long, the oblique short.

11. The horizontal strokes short, the perpendicular long, and the oblique at full length.

12. The horizontal lines in the 75th radical, at the lower part of these characters, must be long, the perpendicular short, and the two oblique contracted into points.

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* See Plate IV, No. *IV.*

† For the Chinese examples, see Plate IV. to XI, No. 1 to 92.

13. The transverse stroke long, the upright short.

14. The transverse short, the upright long.

15. When there is an horizontal stroke at the top and bottom, the upper one should be short, and the lower one long.

16. When there are perpendicular lines at the left and right, the left should be short, and the right full and extended.

17. When there is an oblique stroke to the left, and a perpendicular to the right, the former should be contracted, and the latter brought down.

18. When there are perpendicular strokes to the left, and oblique ones to the right, the former should be short, and the latter free and extended.

19. When there are several dots, their relative size and position should be varied, to prevent uniformity.

20. Where horizontal strokes are repeated, they must be of different lengths, like scales, or feathers, to prevent stiffness of appearance.

21. Both sides being nearly equal, they must be even at the top and bottom.

22. Where a character is compounded of three simple parts, placed sideways, the middle one should be narrow and upright.

Note.—As every character ought to approach, more or less, to a squarish form, it follows, that where the component parts are placed sideways, each should be narrow and long, as in this example; but, where they are placed one above the other, each should be broad and short, as in the next example.

23. The two separate parts must be broad and flat, that the whole may approach to a squarish form.

24. Where a character is composed of three, placed one above the other, let some of the horizontal strokes be short, and some moderately long.

25. Where the left-hand portion is small, it should be even with the top of the character.

26. Where the right-hand portion is small, it should be even with the bottom of the character.

27. Where four characters are repeated on the outside of another, the whole should have a square form.

28. Where four characters are repeated on the inside of another, they must be written very close together.

29. Here the long strokes should not be horizontal, but written with an inclination.

30. The long lines should be horizontal, and the perpendicular without any inclination.

31. The oblique stroke should not be too much elongated.

32. The long oblique in these should be nearly straight, with a certain appearance of strength; that is, as if drawn with a firm steady hand.

33. Let the hooked stroke below be sufficiently bent.

34. Here the bent stroke should include, and, as it were, embrace the character at the side.

35. The lower strokes must be placed centrically under those above.

36. The hooked strokes in the left-hand portion must be contracted.

37. The point of the hooked stroke should be directed towards the middle of the four dots.

38. These should be even at the top.

39. These should be even at the bottom.

40. Where there are many right oblique strokes, some must be at full length, and some contracted.

41. Some of the hooks in the component parts must be suppressed, and some indicated.

42. The hook in the upper portion should be slightly, and in the lower, more strongly indicated.

43. The hooked stroke at the top should be contracted, and the one below extended.

44. The upper part of these characters should be broader than the under.

45. The under part in these should be broader than the upper.

46. Let the left-hand portion yield in size to the right.

47. Let the right-hand portion yield in size to the left.

48. Let the two sides be large, and the middle small.

49. In these the middle portion should be fully written.

50. The middle portion in these should be small.

51. The hooked stroke in these must be bent, and with an appearance of strength, as if drawn with a firm hand.

52. The bent stroke must be round and flowing.

53. The oblique stroke to the left must not be too thin and elongated.

54. The two left oblique strokes must not be parallel to each other.

55. When there are three oblique strokes together, let the top of each proceed from the middle of the one immediately above it.

56. In writing the contracted form of the 85th radical, the lowest dot should be drawn up in a point towards the highest.

57. The 25th radical in these characters must be upright, and placed immediately under what is above.

58. The 32d radical in these must be erect, and the perpendicular stroke in a line with the perpendicular stroke below.

59. Where characters consist of a great number of small uneven parts, care must be taken lest they become confused.

60. Where the strokes are thickly placed, more care is required in writing them.

61. The descending stroke must be thick at top, and diminish towards the bottom.

62. The descending stroke should be of nearly equal thickness throughout.

63. Though the lines of these be inclined, "the heart of each character must be centrical."

64. The lines should all be straight and strong.

65. The body of these characters should be of a long shape, and the strokes rather slender.

66. These should be of a dwarfish shape, and the strokes rather thick, partly because there are few of them.

67. The oblique strokes which cover in what is below must balance each other.

68. The foregoing rule also applies when they are in the middle of the character.

69. Though the lines in these should be thick, let them not be clumsy.

70. Though in these the strokes should be rather long, let them not be meagre.

71. Where there are but few of them, the lines should be thick.

72. Where there are many strokes, let them be small, and equally blended.

73. Where the same character is thrice repeated in a compound, each must be nearly of a size with the rest.

74. Where the strokes, from their number and form, are involved, care must be taken lest they become confused.

75. The horizontal line below must meet, and be carried a little beyond, the descending stroke to the right.

76. Let the hook below be strongly indicated.

77. When a character is compounded with the 162d radical, the upper part of it should be written larger than the lower.

78. Where the oblique strokes are short, and the horizontal long, the oblique stroke on the right must be contracted.

79. In these, let the upright lines to the left be short, those to the right long.

80. Let the perpendicular stroke to the left of these be extended a little beyond the others.

81. The hook in the upper part of these should be turned inwards.

82. These characters require skill and care in writing them.

83. Examples for writing such characters as are compounded of the 26th radical.

84. Examples of such as have the 163d radical on the right.

85. Examples of such as have the 170th radical on the left.

86 to 92. Examples of characters compounded with various radicals, &c.

XX. *An Account of Greek, Parthian, and Hindu Medals, found in India. By Major James Tod, M.R.A.S.*

Read June 18, 1825.

I have the honour to present to the Society fac-simile engravings of two medals, which fill up a chasm in the Numismatic series of the Greek Kings of Bactria, *viz.* Apollodotus and Menander.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ ΑΠΟΛΛΟΔΟΤΟΥ

is the epigraphe of the medal of Apollodotus. The figure is very properly that of Apollo, armed with a dart or spear inverted, in the left hand; denoting clemency after victory. Towards his right hand, is a monogram, indicating the date, which would appear to be the Bactrian era, composed of the letters ΟΕΔ.

On the reverse, is a figure which appears to represent a portable sacrificial tripod, or altar, having around it an inscription in the ancient Zend, or Pehlavi character, as in the Sassanian medals of Sapor, and the inscriptions* of Nakschi, Rustam, and Kermansha.

The other medal is of a name better known to history—Menander. It bears the effigies of the prince, the head covered with a helmet; the epigraphe—

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ .... ΝΑΝΔΡΟΥ.

Though the two first letters of Menander are wanting, not a doubt can exist of its being his coin. I will leave to others to conjecture what were the letters, now indistinct, which filled up the space between *Basileōs* and *Menandrou*.

The reverse bears a winged figure,† having a palm branch in the left hand, and in the right a wreath. Around is the same Zend character, as in that of Apollodotus, and the monogram‡ composed of two letters, ΙΔ.

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* See De Sacy. Mémoires sur diverses Antiquités de la Perse.

† This winged figure is Victory.—N.

‡ No. 323 of Miannet.

The *Zend* characters, common to both these medals, afford a proof, which may be considered as decisive, that both these princes held Bactria, or Balk'h, as the seat of empire; for, though the discovery of these coins gives validity to the reported extent of conquest of these princes, yet, had they held the seat of government within the Indus, they would have adopted the ancient *Nágarí* character on the reverse, not that of Parthia.

I shall now state how, and where I found these coins, and describe the method I adopted in my search, which, if persevered in by others, may lead to more discoveries of this nature. For the last twelve years of my residence in India (amongst Mahrattas and Rajputs), the collecting of coins, as an auxiliary to history, was one of my pursuits: and in the rainy season I had a person employed at *Mat'hurá* and other old cities, to collect all that were brought to light by the action of the water, while tearing up old foundations, and levelling mouldering walls. In this manner, I accumulated about 20,000 coins, of all denominations; among which, there may not be above 100 calculated to excite interest, and perhaps not above one-third of that number to be considered of value: but, among them, there is an Apollodotus and a Menander, besides some rare medals of a Parthian dynasty, probably yet unknown to history.

By the acquisition of this coin of Apollodotus, I made a double discovery, namely, of the coin itself, and of an ancient capital city.

Conversing with the principal disciple of a celebrated *Jain* priest of Gwalior, about ancient cities, he related to me an anecdote of a poor man, about thirty-five years ago, having discovered, amidst the few fragments left of *Súrapura*, on the *Yamuná*, a bit of (what he deemed) glass: shewing it to a silversmith, he sold it for one rupee; the purchaser carried his prize to Agra, and sold it for 5,000, for it was a diamond. The finder naturally wished to have a portion of the profit, and, on refusal, waylaid and slew the silversmith. The assassin was carried to Agra to be tried, and thus the name of *Súrapura* became known beyond its immediate vicinity. This was a sufficient inducement to me to dispatch one of my coin-hunters, and I was rewarded by Apollodotus and several Parthian coins.

The remains of *Súrapura* are close to the sacred place of pilgrimage, called by us "Betaisor," on the *Yamuná*, between Agra and Etawah. Tradition tell us, that it was an ancient city, and most probably was founded by Suras'éna, the grandfather of Crĭshna, and consequently the capital of the Suraseni of the historians of Alexander, which name they very appro-

priately assigned to the kingdom of *Mat'hurá.* Arrian mentions two capital cities on the *Yamuná*, " Methoras and Clisobaras." We easily recognize the first; yet, much as the Greeks disfigured proper names, we can hardly twist the latter into *Súrapura.* Amongst the ruins of ancient *Mat'hurá*, I obtained two other medals of Apollodotus, one of which, very indistinct, I gave to Major Miles, who, I believe, has since presented it to the Literary Society of Bombay.

At *Mat'hurá*, where I obtained a few good medals, after many years' search, I found Menander.

The illustrious names of Apollodotus and Menander, are a sufficient theme to fill many pages of the journals of the Society, and would require more classical historic knowledge than the nature of my pursuits and occupations could afford me a chance of acquiring, in order to illustrate their history. Nevertheless, as I possess some knowledge of the geography of their conquests, and have not come altogether unprepared for the task, I shall trust to the indulgence of the Society, in the attempt I am about to make.

Had not Apollodotus and Menander despised the narrow limits of the kingdom usurped by Theodotus, I should never have ventured west of the Indus, in search of the princes of Bactria; but as both of them contemned the Indus as the boundary of their sovereignty, and invaded the sons of Puru in *Sauráshtra*, on the Indian shore, and on the *Yamuná*, where they left these memorials of their conquests, they placed themselves within the sphere of my pursuits.

It was from a passage in Dr. Vincent's " Translation of the Periplus of the Erythrean Sea," that I discovered Apollodotus appertained to the Bactrian dynasty. Moreover, Sainte Croix, in his " Examen Critique des Historiens d'Alexandre," takes notice* of the conquests of Menander; from both I had references to other authorities, which I had no access to in India.

" Our author (Arrian†)," says Dr. Vincent, " redeems his error,‡ by the

* Page 726.

† Supposed to have written his book during the reign of Aurelian. He resided at Barugaza, or Barooch, in a commercial capacity.

‡ The error alluded to by Dr. Vincent is of a geographical nature, in Alexander's departure from India.

preservation of a circumstance which fell under his own observation, which is, that *coins with the Greek inscriptions of Menander and Apollodotus, who reigned in this country after Alexander, were still current in Barugaza.**

This Apollodotus is hard to discover, even by the scrutinizing accuracy of the learned Bayer; but Menander he has introduced into the catalogue of his Bactrian kings, and with a most peculiar distinction, that he had extended his sovereignty down the Indus, and over the Delta of the Patālēne.†

BACTRIA.

On the division of the provinces, by the successors of Alexander, of the enormous empire he so rapidly acquired, those between the Caspian Sea and the Indus formed several extensive Satrapies.‡ Of the various authorities who treat of this partition, none agree with each other in the names of the governors to whom the allotments fell, for they were repeatedly changed by those who were the real masters of those provinces. In that portion of the empire held by Antipater, according to Arrian, Stasanor had Bactria and Sogdia; Philip had Parthia, which included Hyrcania; and the tracts east of Bactriana, almost to the Indus, were held by Pithon: while the Hindu princes, Taxiles, Porus, and Sandrocottus, exercised their sway on each side, and within the Indus. It is immaterial to notice the fluctuating alterations in this arrangement, down to the extinction of the Macedonian kingdom, and the partition of Asia amongst the officers of Alexander.

Twenty-five years after the death of Alexander, Seleucus, surnamed Nicator, having made himself master of Syria, and assumed the regal title, brought all the provinces, up to the Indus, under subjection, and nominated governors. He even designed reconquering those held by the native Hindu princes; but troubles in the West, added to the bold attitude of Sandrocottus, at the head of 600,000 men, compelled him to enter into

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* The Greeks have well preserved the ancient name of Barooch, if classically written—Bhrigu-gacha, the residence of the sage Bhrigu. The site of his hermitage, tradition has placed at some distance from the present city.

† Periplus of the Erythrean sea, vol. ii. page 401. Vincent's Navigation of the Ancients.

‡ Parthia, including Hyrcania, Aria, Bactria, Sogdia, Arachosia.